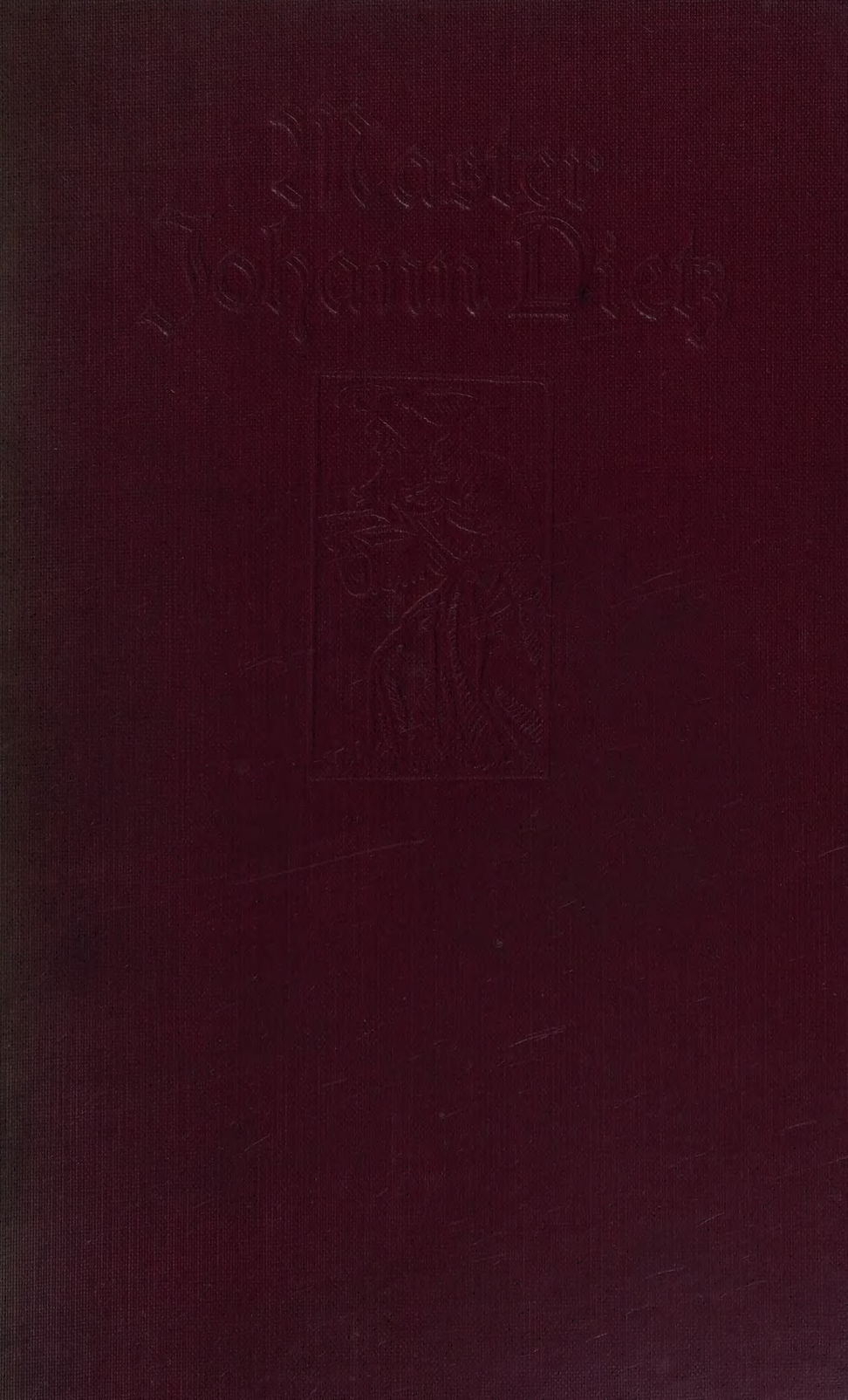

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MASTER JOHANN DIETZ

1665-1738

MASTER JOHANN DIETZ

SURGEON IN THE ARMY OF THE GREAT ELECTOR AND BARBER TO THE ROYAL COURT

FROM THE OLD MANUSCRIPT IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF BERLIN

TRANSLATED BY

BERNARD MIALL

FIRST PUBLISHED BY

DR. ERNST CONSENTIUS

1876-1937

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INTRODUCTION

No biography has hitherto been known which could tell us, with the least approximation to the detail contained in the following autobiography of Master Johann Dietz, of the homely, middle-class life of the second half of the seventeenth century, down to the accession of Frederick the Great. Consequently the publication of this old-world manuscript is a landmark in the history of civilization.

Master Johann Dietz was a member of the guild of barbers. Much as he had seen of the world, his life—as was usual in the case of craftsmen—was divided into his apprenticeship, his years of journeyman wandering, and, finally, his full membership as master of his guild, which coincided, in time, with his marriage. The licensed barber, who was also a licensed surgeon, remained a master to the end of his days.

In those days the learned physician did not perform operations; these were essentially the barber's business. Medical knowledge was divided between the doctor, whose studies taught him how to treat the sick for internal disorders, and the barber, who filled the office of a surgeon. Of course, in case of need the barber was often compelled, for better or worse, to fill the place of his learned colleague, for the barber was as a rule more quickly available than the learned doctor.

As yet the surgeon had no need of studying in a university. He was bound apprentice to a master, the owner of a barber's shop. He learned to make himself useful to the customers, to trim their beards or even to crop their heads. If the apprentice had bound himself to a master who understood his business he was indeed lucky. The journeyman barber sought employment from a new master; again he learned to please his master's customers; and from a second master he passed on to a third, in order finally to seek in battle and the field the proper training of an army surgeon. For war, which

daily confronted the army surgeon with fresh problems, was the best of all schools of surgery.

This normal method of learning the great art of surgery is that which was followed by Dietz. As army surgeon he took part in the Brandenburgers' campaign in Hungary, when the fortress of Ofen was captured; and in the capacity of ship's surgeon he made a voyage with the whaling fleet to the Arctic Ocean.

He must have derived an especial advantage from the fact that for some time, when he had just completed his apprenticeship, he served, in Berlin, as assistant to a distinguished and experienced master, a surgeon of great celebrity, Master Andreas Horch, who was the regimental surgeon of the Brandenburg Electoral foot-guards.

The sum required for an apprentice's premium was about a hundred thalers. This once paid, Dietz stood on his own feet. He was now able to live a comfortable, well-to-do middle-class life.

When Master Dietz had attained his seventieth year he began to make notes of his life. He would pile one event upon others, without paying much attention to strict chronological order. For him, one story would remind him of another, and once again he would negligently add a sequel. But old though he was, his temperament more than once breaks forth. It is easy indeed to believe that this impulsive character was often at odds with those about him! For Dietz was a man whose thoughts were honest and upright, and a man who never forgot to note the fact when the punishment of God yet again overtook the wicked man.

But when Master Dietz was guilty of stupidity—as was often the case—he wrote this down likewise; and when he allowed himself to be led astray by the thirst for gold, or came near to losing his life by his culpable indiscretion, the good God once again came to his aid!

Master Dietz had achieved a quite peculiar relation toward his God, Who never forsook him in time of need; neither in the Arctic Ocean nor in Hungary, where the Brandenburgers suffered so disastrously, many starving to death, when they helped the Emperor to drive back the Turks. Such were the times! What the soldiers suffered on the march into Hungary

and while encamped before Ofen is not told in the bulletins of the commander. And all the officers of higher rank, it seems, have the same long sight as the commander. It did not pay them to take any special interest in such everyday matters, which were after all the mere commonplaces of warfare. But the " man in the street," Master Dietz, found these accessory details imprinted upon his memory, and to him they were important enough to warrant his noting them down in his own exquisitely ingenuous fashion.

His whole life passed before the old man's eyes. He was no senile, decrepit pantaloon ; at the age of seventy-one he begat a child. And in his narrative he suppresses nothing ; and he speaks of everyone under their full names !

This biography will be valued as documentary evidence of middle-class conditions ; as a new source which will materially enrich our knowledge. Where Master Dietz has recorded with particular affection the very smallest of details, the story of his life, from beginning to end, reveals the closest observation and the most convincing truth, so that the persons mentioned seem almost to be present in the body. Here before us we have a solid, many-coloured picture of the period, a picture telling us how the citizen lived in the days when the Great Elector* was still reigning and the magnificent King Friedrich I kept his brilliant court and the niggardly Friedrich Wilhelm I was organizing his austere Government, by no means always to the joy of his subjects.

To the Royal Library in Berlin, which in the most obliging fashion gave permission for the manuscript to be printed, I owe the sincerest gratitude. The Royal Library and the Royal Museum of Copperplate Engravings and the City Museum of Halle also most kindly permitted me to make use of their collections, so that this publication might be enriched by a series of authentic pictures of the period in question. I have likewise to thank the Royal Private State Archives of Berlin and the incumbents of the churches of St. Maurice, Halle, and St. Laurence in Neumarkt, Halle, for permission to examine their records.

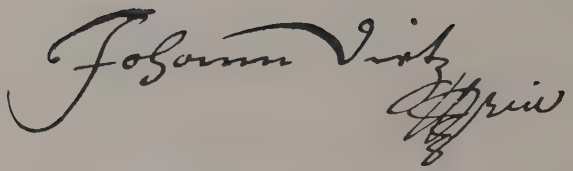
E. C.

Berlin—Steglitz,
September 1914.

Master Johann Dietz:

Being

The faithful / Description of his Life written by himself / Relating all / that he endured / in the Campaign against the Turks / in the Arctic Ocean / in German cities and countrysides / among Soldiers, Robbers and peaceful Citizens / Young Maidens and Apparitions / he finally settling down in Halle / his native City / where he married two Wives / and all that he suffered in this World.



The original is in the State Archives, Berlin.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE

BECAUSE, on relating certain things that have befallen me, and which I myself have beheld with these eyes of mine, yea, and for the most part have had to experience and endure them, I have been entreated by many good friends to write down such matters in the order as they happed; I have, therefore, in my leisure hours, sought to do as was asked of me, in respect of what has befallen me, as far as I could still call it to mind. But first of all to God be the glory for His gracious and most marvellous preservation of me; and as to my nearest and dearest, who may read of such things, may they be of service to them as a lesson and a warning, filling them with the true fear of God, and with trust in Him; but as for empty fame, may that be far from us!—Not unto us O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name be praise, glory and honour!

OF MY EDUCATION, AND MY PARENTS

VERILY, oh God, Thou art a marvellous God, and leadest Thy chosen in ways above all human understanding. For since I was born here, in Halle, next door to my present house, and perhaps two or three ells, if measured through the wall, from the place where I now sleep, and shall, God willing, die (it was in the year 1665, on the 18th of December, under the sign of the Virgin), and in the church of St. Maurice, where I acted as churchwarden from about my fifteenth year, was christened by the name of Johannes, which means one rich in benevolence and grace : and hither, after travelling so many thousands of miles over land and sea—hither have I returned. Verily, this was the work of God.

My father, Johann Dietz, was a rope-maker, and likewise a corn-chandler or forage-master,* and therewith a just and deserving alderman, a pillar of the church, and a beer inspector, who in many affairs and important transactions of the City and Council was sent to the King and the Court, and had always been fortunate in dispatching such business. For this reason too the worshipful Council deplored his loss and regretfully consented when I, what time he felt himself, being then in his seventy-second year, to be on the point of death, was sent to take leave of the said worshipful body and to bid it farewell, and thereupon to give thanks, and at the same time to entreat that after his death nothing should be sealed and inventoried, because he had already left his wife absolute mistress *per testamentum*, and arranged matters for the benefit of his children, leaving full instructions behind him ; and so it was done.

As the pain which I placed before my worthy mother was highly successful, we were able to be easy in our minds

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HALLE ON THE SAALE.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia" (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1650).

as to our livelihood, and to avoid much trouble and expense, although it looked as though a great deal of trouble might arise therefrom, since there were three brothers, two brothers-in-law, and cousins, and two several parties; but we were able to come to a mutual arrangement without any litigation or vexatious difficulties; and the soldiers, being married, were not able to interfere.

My worthy mother, Maria Magdalena, whose maiden name was Nitzsche, was the daughter of a rope-maker from Neumarkt. Her father was Martin Nitzsche; who would have been a wealthy man had he not buried all his wealth underground (not trusting his third wife, who cunningly entrapped him into marriage when his servant; but afterwards, though she acquired his goods, she herself did little that was good. *Nota bene*: how carefully ought we to watch our steps !).

And he refused to speak of it, despite all pleading, until speech failed him and he too died.

Words cannot describe what passed in the house that night, and the horror of it, the banging and rattling ! No one would stay in the house until my revered father allowed a treasure-seeker to be sent for. He carried his divining-rod all over the house, but whenever he went into the garden it was violently forced downwards under a certain apple-tree. So there, under this very tree, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, they began to dig. What then befell ? A terrible spectre in the likeness of him that buried the treasure immediately appeared and watched us, leaning upon the fence. Thereupon all present, including my revered father, terrified and speechless, ran helter-skelter thence and shut themselves into the sitting-room, not knowing what they should do next. The following night matters were just the same. After this the treasure-seeker waited for a certain conjunction * and began all over again. It was found, however, that the treasure had moved by a good six ells. Whereupon the treasure-seeker announced that the treasure was already bewitched, and that he must ride into the hills and obtain a certain root. Thus far, however, he has not returned ! One may conjecture that he had a secret understanding with the stepmother, or that he climbed over the low walls at night and removed the money.

Summa : it was gone and in utter secrecy.—In which connection we should avoid all such snares and exorcisms, wherein the most sacred Name of God is misused, and which are productive of nothing but an evil conscience, as many examples show.

But when my revered mother, after her father's death, began to feel her advanced age of seventy years too greatly to carry on the housekeeping, the business, and the provision of a livelihood, she sent for me ; asking me to look out for a good-natured fellow who, given the opportunity, would marry the unmarried daughter, still at home, and carry on the business and the handicraft in good order ; and at the same time she named such a one, who was living with his brother Pohle in Sietsch, near Landsberg, who would promise marriage.

A few days later I took horse and hunted up this Pohle. I asked him whether he had a brother who was a journeyman ropemaker, and where he was ?—to which he replied, yes, and he was in the stable or the barn ; and he called him.

When he came, barefooted, as is usual in a village, he took me into the living-room, when I put in my word and told him that in addition to trading he must be able to read and write. But he answered " Yes, yes ! " to everything. Only—he knew nothing of such matters, but would first have to learn.—And herein one can but see God's peculiar providence, and this in the case of a man seeking for happiness !

To be brief, he made up his mind, and succeeded so well in making himself liked by the mother as well as by the daughter, that in six months' time there was a wedding in my home. And I myself, at a wedding of this sort, because I had to carve, with my fork in a turkey-cock and a little wine in my head, came near to cutting half my thumb off and to leaving it lying in the gravy ! And without hesitation, before a slice of turkey had been eaten, quite unobserved, though not without great pain, I wound a napkin round my hand, and had to dress it for a fortnight before it began to heal properly. Here one might truly say : " Physician, heal thyself ! "

Now, when the wedding was over and Master Pohle regarded himself as being in a safe and assured position, we saw the other side of the picture ; and he was no longer Joseph but the master of the house, and everything had to be done according

to his will. And what pains was taken to obey him! Otherwise nothing but complaints from the mother and at last from the sister were brought to me! There was nothing but weeping and lamentation, and indeed it could hardly have been otherwise; for hitherto mother and daughter had lived according to their own pleasure, but now they had to live in accordance with the master's wishes. Hence I was often plagued and grieved to the heart. Restraining, defending, advising and admonishing mother, daughter and husband was less than useless, and each insisted that he or she was in the right. In this connection I offended greatly against my mother, by exhorting her too harshly, for I confess, on account of her great age (for she had grown very self-willed and capricious) I ought in fairness to have had more patience with her; for she, when we were headstrong, brawling children, did not straightway turn us out, but must have expended on us much patience and many sleepless nights. Only it was to be deplored that as a result of her brawling, what with anger, grief, and fear of the woman, two or three of her children died.

At last the mother sold to Master Pohle the home and workshop which had previously been rented to him, and paid off the heirs, presumably with our own money, since the worthy woman ought to have saved quite an enviable sum out of the income. After this all was quite peaceable. The worthy woman divided the money, furniture and everything and lived in quiet retirement. She developed a painful sore in the breast, which, however assiduous my attentions, I could do nothing to subdue, but could only in some measure alleviate the pain. Of this she eventually died in the eighty-second year of her age.

Now I come to speak of my own upbringing.—And I was the third son among seven children; but I had from my childhood up this misfortune, that all my brothers and the other children had black hair and coarse, swarthy skins, while I, on the other hand, had snow-white hair and skin; so that my worthy father always said that I was not his child; on which account no care was taken of me. (*Nota bene:* until I reached my twentieth year, when the likeness became visible and even more exact than in the others!) But enough of

HALLE ON THE SAALE.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia" (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1650).

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this : save that I had to pay for it dearly in my childhood ! I was looked down upon and given a bad name by the rest and driven from pillar to post. If my mother had not loved me and stood up for me things would have gone even worse with me. I have to thank the wonderful goodness of God that I was preserved through many sorts of danger and many hard blows.

Once upon a time when both of them, father and mother, had gone one night to a wedding, and the rest had gone with them, leaving me alone in the house, and without a light into the bargain, I at last, in the midst of much weeping and wailing, found the door of the living-room ; I crept here and there about the house and at last fell asleep behind the shaft of an old chimney. How easily I might have fallen down a well, of which there were two in the house, covered with old planks ; or into a cellar ! But words fail to describe the distress and lamentation when my parents spent almost half the night looking for me but could not find me.—Respectable parents pay more attention to their children.

A whole fortnight I lay blind from an attack of smallpox, and many times I suffered from a burning fever, but never from the cold sort.

Once a farmer had put his horse in our stable and I with other youngsters was plaguing him. He lashed out with his two hind legs, hurling me up into the air, and into a small crib or manger opposite ; whereby my ribs were broken and I suffered a serious illness.

Otherwise I was of a silent humour,* and because I was always so despised I was impelled to pray assiduously to God and to trust in Him. I was fond of solitude ; I drew and wrote diligently, for I loved so doing from childhood upwards, and had taught myself.

Once on a New Year's day, when I was praying to God in solitude, that He would vouchsafe us a happy year, up came my brother Paul, who was very wild and led me sadly astray, and took me among other youngsters to go sledging down on the Old Market, where we had a fight with the City** youngsters, refusing to allow ourselves to be driven from the market-place. We returned to the charge with violence and threw a girl

HALLE ON THE SAALE.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia" (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1650).

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of the City ward backwards over the crowd. She was like one dead. All went home half lifeless with terror. But the watch fetched us all out, even to the children of aristocratic families who were present. I was thrown into prison with two others and securely guarded. But although my father wished to give bail it was all in vain. There I had to sit, miserably, until the girl, thanks to the doctor and the barber, was no longer in danger of her life. In the meantime these people ran up heavy expenses, all of which my father had to pay, and it cost him nine or ten thalers. The others cleared themselves, with my brother, as they had no property.

But the worst of it was that what with the fright and the excitement I fell sick of a burning fever, which at last resolved itself, throwing up a great *apostema* * under the left arm, which again was the cause of much suffering and expense.

This increased the disgust which my father and sisters felt for me, in that I disgraced them on every opportunity. I often told them: "I am your Joseph; one day you will all come to me and ask me to help you." And thus indeed it came to pass, as will be told.

At last—when I had barely reached my fourteenth year—my father wanted to make use of me in the rope-walk. I was weakly, however, and had no desire to work there, although I tried it a few times.

My father would not put up with me at home any longer, and one evening he told me: "You must go away; now choose to-day what you want to be." (About this time—*anno* 1680—the Administrator of these parts died, and the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, occupied the city and countryside with his troops.) Then was a time of mental anguish, of mourning and weeping and praying all night long! God must then have showed me what choice to make that I might serve both Him and those nearest to me, and obtain my daily bread!

For see this: all night I had to do with the things of the barber's calling, and I dreamed of medicine; wherefore I then resolved that this was the end to be achieved.

When on the following day I was asked what I had decided my answer was that I wished to become a barber. My father

looked at me stormily and said, straightway: "Who put that in your head? You think you'll be a barber because you'll have such a nice lazy time? And even if it cost no money! Where shall I get that?"—Whereupon I said to him: "Some way of getting it would be found; and he might take for that purpose the hundred thalers which my worthy grandmother left me, and of which he had so long enjoyed the use, without having to pay any interest on it." At which suggestion my father became very angry and absolutely refused my request. But it happened as I wished, thanks to my mother's urgent exhortations. To Master Schobern, my cousin, I agreed to pay seventy thalers, so that I had still to make arrangements in respect of my inheritance.

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OF MY APPRENTICESHIP

Some days later I had to leave home and went alone to the master barber to give the matter a fortnight's trial. So all went well with me, for one commonly petted the probationer apprentice* and allowed him to have all things his own way. So it was with me. In short, I made up my mind; I would stick to it, however things might turn out.

I was indentured to Master Georg Schobern (whose daughter I afterwards married) in the year 1681. To begin with all went well, although for those inexpensive days (when a bushel of corn was worth seven groschen) the living was poor enough: every morning we had a slice of dry bread to eat, and for drink water or *kofent*** ; a fare to which I had not been used at home.

With the shaving matters went ill at the outset, inasmuch as having once cut a farmer's chin, I got such a box on the ears that I was deaf for quite a month afterwards. Moreover, the whip did not always get mixed up with the towel by which I used to sit on a little trunk; but I always twisted them together, as a precaution, so that I could escape before they could be untwisted.

Once of an evening my employer was playing draughts with an advocate, Weiseken. Because I had been carrying dung in the garden that day and was greatly fatigued I sat down on my little trunk and fell asleep. Meanwhile—*salvo honore*—a louder note escaped me. When I became aware of this and immediately made ready to depart, my master tore at his neck-cloth. But I had reached the door and banged it to behind me. And because it was in any case a stout door, which fell to of itself, and he, with his head thrust forward, was trying to follow me, the door struck him such a blow on the fore part of the head that he recoiled into the room. Then a hue and cry was raised. But I was away up the stairs,

out of an attic window,* on to the roof and behind the party-wall.** They were afraid, but for my part I would have thrown myself neck and crop from the top of the roof. They had to give me my own way. But I did not go down that night until the matter was settled, and my master had to humble himself.

And this was the harsh way in which they treated me, a cousin, who had given them seventy thalers and a bed as premium.

I had to draw all the water and fetch all the logs for the maid in the kitchen, light the fire, split the wood and so forth.—But it all went for nothing; and soon the daughter began to beg that she should not be too harshly treated, causing me much vexation and many blows. But the master died suddenly of a hot black-pudding, whereas he had said and declared, shortly before this, that if he wanted to sleep o' nights he ought to have got me out of the city before ever I decided to become a barber there—as I did later on.

The drawing of water annoyed me most. To go out into the street with two pails! For I was now in my third year, and used to serve many notable people and to dress their wounds.*** I was actually sent by my master at this time to dress two genteel young women who had the true *bubones* and plague boils on them, and there were others too, but at that time I knew nothing of these. But I got out of the water-drawing at last in this way: I made as though to stumble when I was carrying the two full pails, pouring the water all over the room and the house, so that all was a-swim with it. Then there was trouble! But from that time onwards I was no longer obliged to draw water.

Meanwhile the contagion got the upper hand here in Halle, in the year 1682, so that there were days when fifty, sixty and more suddenly died of it. There were days when the townsfolk, big and little, would be sitting together in the wine-cellars (as was then the custom) thinking no evil; filling themselves with good wine, which was not dear in such resorts. But when of a night they parted this man and that was already dead and was put away by outcast men, being thrown into a great pit at the back of God's Acre.

To the credit of those in authority, and the Council, mention should be made of those charitable institutions which existed in order to provide the poor and forsaken with food and drink, preachers, *medicis* and *chirurgis*, notaries and will-makers. And although here and there side-streets were boarded up and soldiers were posted round the city so that no one could leave or enter, markets were held by the outer moat and the counter-scarps, and the money, before it was taken, was dropped into water and washed, so that as yet no one was suffering from want or starvation. This was in 1682.

I had a comrade in apprenticeship, the son of a master saltpanner, whose father's house, on the Schulberge, was emptied by death and boarded up so that no one could get into it. The inquisitive temper of youth took us both thither, so that when we ought to have gone to church we used to climb into the house by way of a plank and a dividing alley-way.* And there, in that house, which was silent as the grave, we found good store of bacon, butter, meal, eggs and meat. This was just what my comrade had expected; and with us all was boiling and roasting, for we were fed very poorly; and we now fried so many pancakes and omelets, etc., with which we slipped home, that we could well have lived on them for a fortnight. And—God be praised!—not the least harm did we suffer, nor was anyone else aware of it.

Once again I was seduced by some naughty youths under the pretext of going skating; for otherwise we scarce dared to leave the house. I had my little cloak of rain-cloth** wrapped about me and went as far as Gimritz on the ice, where I had arranged to meet the others, but not one of my party could I see. So I went farther yet on the ice, and so doing fell in where the water was up to my chin. I was in sorry case when I got out again. And being all dripping wet, my clothes, in the wink of an eye, were frozen stiff as a soldier's harness. I set off at a run in order to get nearer to where there were fires; but the outer watch saw me and caught hold of me round the body. And as crossing the line was then punishable by death I was taken into their guard-room, which in one way suited me well, on account of the warm room, but in other

HALLE, LOOKING NORTH.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia" (published at Frankfurt on the Main by Matthew Merian 1650).

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respects it filled me with anxiety, as when I heard that I should at once be taken before the authorities.

I looked at the matter this way and that but could find no means of escape. At length I urged the call of nature, but the sergeant would not hear of such a thing. In the end, however, he gave in ; but he called two soldiers to take me out, who did not appear to expect any trouble from me, and in the meantime lit a pipe of tobacco, while I palliated my errand with my cloak ; and then off I went, always in the direction of the city. The soldiers could not move so quickly ; but they ran after me, shouting and sliding their spears * after me. But in vain. I was up and away, for I might next moment have been in danger of my life or have suffered some great misfortune. —What says the warning in the book of Sirach : that one should not follow after evil companions, but should worship God in His temple.

While now the plague was rapidly gaining the upper hand, and such piteous sights met the eye, as here empty side-streets, and there shut-up houses ; while now piteous cries for help were heard, and raving victims upstairs, at the windows, threw themselves out ; since there was nothing to do, and no one was working, nor employing the barber, my master bade me depart.

More especially since my parents had already left the city, and were living where they had built a hut, and dug a cellar, on the waste land of a hillside vineyard. Since many of my master's customers, whom I had to shave, had betaken themselves out of the city, I too began to practise my profession outside the city, attending my father and others, earning a little for myself and dispensing medicines for people. In particular I made a " plague essence," which, under God, proved our salvation and that of many others. My father gave everyone half a spoonful every morning.

But whether I, through many encounters with the poison of the plague, really acquired it in this manner, the fact is that I and my brother were sent by my mother to bring a carp from Cröllwitz, but we found no one in the town, except that above the dam we came upon a camp of miserable people, old and young, many being sick of the plague. At last, thanks to a

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PLAGUE HOSPITAL, VIENNA, *circa* 1679.

From a contemporary copperplate engraving.

favouring wind, we crossed the water and obtained the carp ; but I, at the same time, what with fear and horror, took the plague also home with me.

My father perceived this immediately, for I was deathly pale and ill, with a violent headache. He gave me at once a spoonful of plague essence of my own making, took me in silence to the barn, and locked me in, so that no one could come to me, in order to see what turn matters would take. Thereupon I began to rave, but as I was powerless to do anything, and further, had no energy to do it, the strength of the medicine resulted in a broken blood-vessel, so that the blood flowed copiously from my mouth and nose ; drenched in blood, I rolled about all over the barn ; at last, completely exhausted, I fell into a deep sleep. Two days went by. During this time my father often came to see whether I was still alive. Since he now saw that I was awake, speaking rationally and asking for food, he brought me a strong broth made from bullock's flesh. Little by little I recovered my strength, and no one subsequently contracted any disease from us.

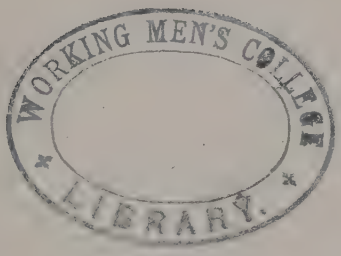
Meanwhile, we managed to pass the time by praying, singing and reading, finding diversion in strolling through the vineyards and elsewhere until the contagion ceased, when we returned home, and I to my master, to complete my apprenticeship. Here there was some little difficulty, as he wanted me to make up for the time during which I had not been with him. But he could not legally demand this. Otherwise, I should have had to remain three and a half years with him as apprentice, and also pay a great deal of money which I did not owe.

At last I was declared quit of my apprenticeship. This was three or four years after Michaelmas 1684, when it was nearly winter, for all *conditiones* were legally prescribed. But this made no difference. I had to go.

I was allowed to get a new suit made of cloth at fifteen or sixteen groschen the ell. I was given also six shirts and neck-cloths. *Item* ten thalers travelling money.

I even received a recommendation to Eisenberg, but as this was a little place where small profit could be made, I did not want to take it, but bargained for my coach-fare to

Berlin. At this my mother wept and repeatedly said: "My dear son, how will you manage there? You are going where you know no one!" And I would thereupon console her: "Yes, mother, God, who is the stay of so many thousands of men in foreign parts, will care for me also." And my father hearing this, would say: "If you have faith then go on your way in peace."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OF MY TRAVELS

SOME days later, about eleven o'clock, I departed, in God's name, my father accompanying me to the house door with the words: "All through your life hold God before your eyes and in your heart and beware lest ever you consent to sin or break His commands; for so all will be well with you." My worthy mother and sisters, however, went with me as far as the "Grünen Hof." Then, with much weeping, they likewise took leave of me and returned home, while I rode out into the wide world.

But alas! we had accomplished scarce half our journey when my father's admonition was forgotten and I seduced by a wicked woman who was a fellow-passenger on the coach. We came to a hostelry in the midst of the forest known as the Schmerberg, in order to spend the night there. There was not a mouthful to eat; no bread, sour beer, and no straw, so that we, as well as the horses, had to lie on a dunghill. And there this brazen hussy laid herself next to me, with many caresses; without a doubt, in order to relieve me of the little money I had on me; as she assuredly would have done had not I, as a precaution, kept a watch on my pockets; for already she had actually felt me all over. I could not sleep, thanks to the luxurious bed and the stench, so stood up, and thinking much upon past events I went in by the door which stood wide open. Before I could see my way in the darkness a great creature (it must have been the great *Huhu* or owl) came flying out with such violence that I, almost helpless with fright, fell over a heap of manure. But at that time I had no other thought than that it was the Devil himself. And God permitted me to pull myself together, however fearful, *timide* and down-trodden, however sick and pale.—The wanton woman again

made up to me, but I could no longer look at her, I was so full of repentance.

At last we came to Berlin; and I now suffered the greatest anxiety, when I sought to find employment. For I was still extremely shy and had not the courage to accost people. I may with truth say that I passed the barber's shop, in whose door I saw two already elderly journeymen standing, at least ten times before I spoke out, and asked for the senior alderman of the guild, by whom one has to get one's name inscribed. At last I ventured. And there was the master himself, who had come with them for that purpose, and sent his apprentice to fetch me in, so that the senior alderman, his brother-in-law Danckquart, might inscribe me on the roll. But he whispered something in the apprentice's ear, to the effect that I was to be allotted to him, and so I was, for one of this Master Schubart's journeymen wanted to proceed on his travels, and out of the season there was no strange journeyman about.

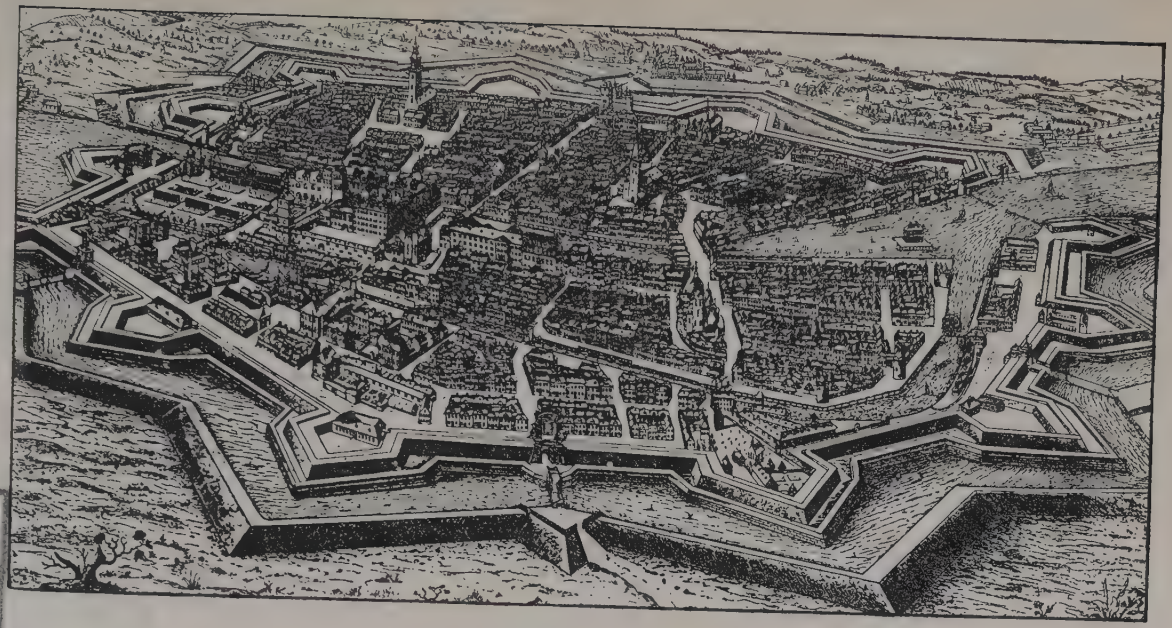
I took this at once as a good omen for obtaining employment; and so it proved. For when the master examined me, and I myself had to shave him, he offered to employ me, as his journeyman was proceeding on his travels. I accepted his offer with thanks. Nevertheless, the *salarium* was bad—six groschen a week—but it was understood that as I showed improvement I should get more.

I was joyful and rendered thanks to God, was diligent and comfortable, and kept to the house. In especial I won the favour of the lady of the house, because I was able to give her a helping hand and show her respect, which pleased her greatly. It was she who had made her husband a rich man.

And yet there was hatred and strife between the two; mortal hatred; for once, when the husband was angry, he fell upon his wife with a great knife, and would assuredly have given her a mortal wound in the breast had I not leaped in between them and prevented him. After this their relations were even more embittered and an action was begun for divorce. I myself had to give evidence in the case, but nothing came of it save that they ate their hearts out and their blessed money fell into the hands of the advocates and the judges. The

longer this situation continued the more dissolute and ill-tempered the husband became, and out of sheer disgust he began to haunt the lowest gaming-houses and brothels. The wife, as she spied upon him assiduously, knew all about this, and became even more exasperated by jealousy. Hence a new cause of dispute and reproach. And now the man would pull himself together and go away again. Her pious old mother suffered the greatest grief and affliction. But I retained the favour of both, which in the end was very useful to me, when once again I met with peculiar misfortune.

I had many customers to serve in this extensive quarter, and had to bestir myself if I wished to get through my work. For this reason, in order to gain time, I used in winter to go by way of the Lappstrasse into the fish-market, crossing the ice, singing some snatch of song and full of cheerful thoughts. But the fishermen, in order to continue their fishing, had cut a great hole in the ice, in the middle of the Spree, which the same night was to some extent frozen over again and covered with snow, so that I did not see it. Before I discovered it I was lying in it, and went in over my neck and head. The strong current below the mills would certainly have sucked me under and drowned me had not my berkan * cloak been filled with air which kept me afloat. During the violent effort to clamber out I had no thought but : " Jesus ! Jesus ! O Jesus ! My God, aid me ! " A piece of timber had been frozen in the ice, and by this I managed to get out. There was no one who saw what happened or who could have helped me. And there I stood, frozen, a man in armour. But the worst was this : the silver bowl and the silver flask, together with the wallet of razors and silver-mounted knives, was lost ; over a hundred thalers in value. What was to be done now? Partly because of the cold, partly out of my great anxiety, I ran all the way to the Fischergasse, to the fisherman whom I had to shave. This was the Court fisher Schütz, a thoroughly honest and a valiant man, who was heartily sorry for my loss, and dried my skin for me, but could give me little consolation in respect of the lost things. He gave orders to three journey-men fishers, to whom I promised a thaler. They searched with long poles and previously-laid draw-nets.** It was a piece of



BERLIN, 1688.

From a topographical print by Johann Bernhard Schultz (1695).

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good fortune that the flask was full of water and had sunk straightway, for they brought it up first, with their nets. The bowl and the bag of razors took longer, as they had been carried along by the current, but these too they brought up.

Who so joyful as I, who by God's mercy and miraculous intervention found myself with my life and my master's property saved? I thanked the men, and the master fisher at once paid them the thaler on my behalf.

Meanwhile, since the matter took time, one customer after another had sent for me, for they all had their own fixed hours.

Thereupon my employer was very angry with me and full of curses. But when I deplored what had befallen me, I received abuse instead of sympathy—were there not enough bridges that crossed the ice in this direction and that? *Summa:* there was but cold comfort for me, and for that I had to use entreaty and fair words.

Scarce a fortnight had I been faithfully fulfilling my duties when as the upshot of all this fright and excitement, I contracted a burning fever, so violent that I began to rave on the very first night, and so I continued. And now the housewife, and especially her aged and venerable mother, a native of Altmärk (whose eyes I was afterwards to close, upon her grievous yet blessed end) treated me with the greatest kindness, looking after me assiduously and fetching a doctor and making broth.

In connection with this benevolent lady I often summoned up my powers of reason and reflection, but could not understand why this otherwise pious, God-fearing and honour-loving matron should have come by such a grievous end; since for fully a week she lay a-dying, with loud lamentations, doubting even her own blessedness; yet at last, shortly before the end, she received abundant consolation, full measure and running over.—And at the same time, in my presence, the same thing befell the reverend schoolmaster, Master Nicolai, of the church of St. Moritz of this city.

But reason is silent, leading nowhere! For how unsearchable are thy works, O Lord, and thy ways past finding out! Is not thy glory worth this time of suffering? And if it is our lot through many afflictions to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, it is worth the trouble and the labour; it is worth

our while that we should suffer here for a little space; that we should put on the livery of our Lord Jesus, and make ourselves like our Saviour!—Marvel not, my Soul, that the most impious and evil of men often breathe their last, as one commonly says of the dying, softly, like a lamb, without pain or death-agony.

Assuredly, even when all is as it should be, death, as the punishment of sin, and the parting of the soul and the body, as of two closely united friends, is commonly, to all mankind, full of bitterness, grief and terror. I myself, among the many hundreds whom I have seen to die, can remember only two who, at the moment of death, were as joyous and inwardly exultant as though, with the fairest of partners, they were about to attend a wedding, there to feast and to dance. But such are *rara exempla.*

But now, to return to my own affairs: my sickness continued into the fourth week. My employer was unwilling to keep me in his house for so long a period. So I had to crawl to the house of my worthy cousin, who was wife to one of the Trabant bodyguard. She obtained medicine for me from the Court Apothecary, as the most excellent Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm, had established magnificent institutions for that purpose: *doctores* and *chirurgi* were provided free of charge.

After suffering in many particular respects, I contrived to eat again and to creep along by the wall. My employer came to judge whether I should soon be capable of performing my duties, for he was in need of me.

As soon as I was able to get abroad a little, I had to return to him. At first I could get about only with great difficulty, and often had to stop and lean against a wall, so that my customers pitied me; they showed me much kindness, until I was strong again and by God's mercy had completely recovered my health.

I served this employer for more than a year before he thought of increasing my wages, for which reason I accepted a recommendation to the fortress of Spandau, which had been sent to me. This was not at all convenient for my employer, but he and his wife remained my friends, as the following will show.

In Spandau I came across two old people. The gentleman was some seventy years of age, and had an only son who was abroad and on the sea. And because in my apprentice years I had diligently studied books and had also written down *collectanea* from all of them; moreover, since from my previous employer in Berlin I had obtained instruction in matters which I did not understand, such as blood-letting and other matters of manual skill, so that I could already perform *præstanda*, my aged employer left me to manage everything for him. I soon obtained other customers and more work. Henceforth, as though I had been a child, I was treated with affection and esteem by all the people of the place, especially by the unmarried maidens, until there was hardly a wedding or entertainment or feast at which I was not present, so that in my absence some of the young women quarrelled over me and came to blows because some spoke ill of me and some well.

It may well be that they were in the right, for through my too great circle of acquaintances I was in danger of becoming a dissolute fellow and was led astray.

In particular, I loved music, and I used even to play to the young ladies on my guitar or violin. In this fashion the professional fife-players became my good comrades and intimate friends. Thus, too, it happened that I often spent the night with them on one of the towers and kept watch for them. My employer supposed that I was in bed, in his house, whereas I was strolling about the streets with them or was in other good company; and many a time hard blows were struck and life endangered.

Once, as I was going home in the bright moonlight and had to pass the city magistrate's house, who had there three grown-up daughters and a priest's daughter from the country, these nymphs were leaning out of one of the windows of the ground floor. As soon as they recognized me they called to me and conversed with me, and the conversation lasted so long that they pressed me to join them. But when they sought to open the door it appeared that the prudent father had thought of the protection of his daughters and the other young woman, and the door was firmly closed. None the less they found a

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SPANDAU.

From Johann Angelii a Werdenhagen's "De rebus publicus hanseaticis tractatus." (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1641.)

means of harbouring me that night; they let down a bed-sheet and a towel, which I had to bind round my body. In short, the four of them drew me up to them, and I too gave some assistance.

I need not tell you how we laughed and diverted ourselves. Now I was lying in this bed, now in that; and this was not done without laughter, shrieks and a general uproar; which the old magistrate heard, so that he came in with burning taper and clanking keys. The maidens, suffering a thousand terrors, could think of nothing but burying me deep in bed. To me, however the matter was not entirely one for laughing. The pastime might so easily have changed into something more serious!

And now came the father into the room with the master-keys and looked about, asking: "What is to do here that you are making such a noise? Whom have you got here with you?" and so forth: but his young lady daughters knew from his peculiar manner of questioning them that their worthy father would go his way again. Who more delighted than I?

When he had gone I left by the way which had just brought me thither.

It was oft-times my good intention to extricate myself from such occasions; but—I could not. For they left me no peace; and of an evening they dragged me forth and hammered on the door. Wherefore, the aged mistress of the house would scold me severely, and the old gentleman often took me abroad with him.

It was an apothecary of the same city who begged me to obtain leave from my employer for a couple of days, in order to travel with him; but I could not learn whither. The coach came to the door and we travelled all day long until it grew dark, through the forest. At last we reached our destination—a summer residence in the forest.

There we were received in the most sumptuous fashion by women and well entertained at table. Moreover, from behind the screen came the sound of music with singing. But after dinner we proceeded to dance. I had no knowledge as to whom I had to do with; but at last I sat down beside a woman who seemed to me to be the most friendly in her

behaviour to me, and learned from her that one of her friends was the apothecary's sweetheart, but that she had known me in Spandau and would be glad to see me again there. I thanked her for the singular favour, but I cannot say that I was sincere; I would fain have slipped away, seeing very plainly that this was merely a trap, a fowling-net. Yet I had to content myself, and having drunk with the best, allow myself to be put to bed. There I was, in a room by myself, and she too was alone, in the Elector's bed. What further happened that night I cannot say; for I was somewhat drunk, and propriety forbids.

In the morning I had a refresher with mulled wine and the best confections.* In the forenoon we diverted ourselves with hunting and coursing until midday, when the meal was even more sumptuous. Then music again and dancing until the evening. And now I vehemently urged our departure. This astonished the ladies, who sought to detain us longer. We had had our pleasure, and that very evening we drove back home.

I then learned that the whole affair had been due to a mere chance. So that a young man will do well to be on his guard against the women, and to take good care that he does not get caught. Which I write here as a warning.

I was in this situation for seven terms of three months each, with more of the like adventures, of which I will say no more. Nevertheless, I was very fortunate in the matter of cures; and as a young man was often sent for by sick persons who were past all help.

About this time the Hungarian head-sickness mysteriously made its appearance.** The learned *Doctores* ordered blood-letting and then forbade food or drink. I, however, permitted no blood-letting, but let the patient drink a small glass of good wine, making use of *confortantia* and *alexipharmaca*. My patients recovered; the others died. Once I was sent for by a respectable young girl to attend her through her illness, for which, if she died, I should receive a good sum of money; but if she survived she would reward me richly; and this she promised me.—She recovered and rewarded me abundantly.

After some lapse of time I was accepted as army surgeon, to accompany them to Hungary,* by the artillery, under the command of Colonel Weiler, whose father, Major-General Weiler, was at the same time Commandant of the fortress of Spandau and had to order everything. The most blessed Elector Friedrich Wilhelm sent 12,000 men to the Turkish war in *anno* 1686, what with infantry, cavalry and artillery, without counting volunteers, baggage-trains, camp-followers, etc.

I myself had to equip me for the campaign with a horse and medicaments, since I received for this purpose [no further details are given]. . . .

On this account I journeyed to Berlin, with my horse, toward evening, and at night I put up at my cousin's, who dwelt in Dorothee-Stadt in a brew-house, such as they have there, alone with a maid. She got me something to eat and made me up a bed in the sitting-room, between the stove and the door of the room. She herself slept with the maid in the large living-room.

When I went to bed, about eleven o'clock, at which time the women were asleep, I heard a frightful stumbling and tumbling in the house, which increased my fear, because in the stable, when I had unsaddled and fed my horse, he pulled for some time at the hay, and then all his hair stood on end, and he turned vicious, snorting and refusing to eat or drink. The noise in the house continued for some time, until at last something came downstairs, and went all over the house, and began to bounce about in the courtyard. I knew there was no one else in the house ; for which reason my fear and anxiety were all the greater. From the courtyard it came straight into the kitchen, and to judge by the clatter in the stove it seemed as though it were lighting the fire. I was sweating with anguish and did not know what to do. Meanwhile the lamps had gone out.—I called and shouted to wake the women. But there was no reply. At last it came out of the kitchen and went past the door of the living-room, toward the front door, by which it went out, violently banging the same behind it. I could hear it scratching at the door of the living-room, as though unable to find the latch. But almost at once it opened the door, so that it crashed back against my bed.

It was no longer possible to lie there. And if I had previously prayed—which I was used to doing—I now cursed, which I should not otherwise have done. Therewith I leaped out of bed and violently banged the door to again. I went over to my cousin and seized her by the arm, and at last waked her, whereupon she asked me: "What is it, then? What is it?"—"Oh, cousin, I don't know, I don't know whether it's the Devil or his grandmother in the house! I can't stay here!"—And who would not have been afraid, if at midnight, without a light, a ghost were thus to burst open the door and snuffle over him like an ox—even had he been the bravest man in the world?

But my cousin must already have known all about the matter, for she said: "Why, cousin, be easy, it will not hurt you in any way!"—To which I said: "Huh! Well, it won't suit me: why, I might have been frightened to death!"

The maid was still asleep. I seized her by one leg and pulled until she woke up and lit a couple of lamps. While the lamps were being lit a black cloud moved hither and thither in the room. Further than this we saw nothing.

I reflected upon the matter afterwards and concluded that it was of the nature of *omina*, or a prelude to my coming campaign in Hungary. And I ought to have taken warning from it. As in Spandau once, when I was sleeping in the tower with the fife-players (who had to keep watch there), I had hung my coat, dirk and cudgel on the wall; and when, the following morning, the church bells were beginning to ring, my coat, cudgel and dirk, and also the bed, began to move so violently that I thought the tower would fall next moment. I gathered my things together then and there and ran downstairs mother-naked!

And why did I not escape from this perilous march, since it appeared to me so full of evil and wretchedness?—Because it was to be. God wished me to experience these things that I might tell men how the Lord has dealt with my soul.

Shortly afterwards we went to Berlin, for the mustering, during the presence of the Great Elector. But when my

turn came, and when the General (who swore in a most valiant and unheard-of manner, and whose race and offspring have all been uprooted and swept away like chaff before the wind)—when the General caught sight of me, just as it was pouring with rain, so that my otherwise handsomely curled hair hung about my head like rats' tails, and I looked utterly frozen and wretched, the General, in severe tones, quickly dismissed me. "What devil brought you here?" he said. "You, you won't do any heroic deeds! Get away with you!"—But here the regimental *Medicus* and *Chirurgus*, who had examined me, spoke up for me, saying: "Your Excellency, although he is still quite young, he will turn out well enough."—And thereupon I had to move on, and my name was entered, and we received our pay.

We marched by way of Frankfurt and Krosse. So far the Elector accompanied us (for he was indeed a great lover of soldiers). His tent was pitched and a formal three days' encampment was held. The beer and water in the little town were quite exhausted, by the cattle and by so many men; so that there was no more to be had, and we had to bring it from a very long distance. At last the march was sounded and the camp broken up for departure.

The beneficent Elector, like a loving and valiant hero, took leave of us all in front of the troops, with tears, moreever, and said: "Now march off, children, in God's name! I shall not see all of you again!" And so indeed it fell out. Of twelve thousand men, not counting their wives, children, and servants, or independent persons, less than three thousand returned.

At that time I came near to positively dying of thirst, when the guns were fired for the first time. I was carrying, on my mare, a little keg of beer, to drink if I suffered from my head. But my mount was unused to firing and ran away with me like a Dutchman.* There was no stopping her. In my cups I had let the reins fall so that she could bolt uncontrolled. My keg whirled about my head, for I was anxious not to let it fall, and I could hardly manage to keep in the saddle, as I had offended the mare by the use of the spur. To be sure, this provided everybody with matter for a hearty laugh, but I lost my beer.

LIFE IN CAMP, *circa* 1690 (?).

After an engraving by J. A. Thelott (1654–1734). The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

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At first we marched some little way into Poland, whence the husbandmen had all run away; at most a dumb or blind person or some aged woman would be left in the village; all their livestock was hidden in great holes in the ground, lined with straw, or otherwise concealed; and some of these places, with a great plenty of stock in them, we discovered, killing and eating what we found. Already there was an appearance of dearth.

Farther on, however, we found people in some of the villages, and a sorry state they were in. In the windows of the living-room we found bullock's bladder in place of glass; the baking oven was in the living-room; cow and calf, pig and dog, man and wife, lay all together; one could not sit upright for the reek in the living-room; of brandy and, *salvo honore*, of lice there was plenty; and the brandy was drunk out of band-glasses.* When the peasant had drunk himself full he crept into the oven. *Summa*: the people lived like cattle.

Going through Silesia, by way of Breslau, matters were better as we drew near to Troppau. I lodged for two days in a large village a mile from Breslau, at the house of a wealthy cattle-dealer, in billets which our quarter-master ** had procured for himself and me. The people of the house had no child, but a niece, and a fine maiden she was. They entertained us extraordinarily well with venison, Hungarian wine and sweetmeats. Me they treated with abundant kindness: especially the young woman, with whom I passed the time most pleasantly.

And you may take my word that if I had remained there longer I should have married her, for the old folk were greatly pleased with the idea and would have bought me a barber's shop in Pressel (Breslau); of which there had already been speech.—

But this had to be broken off. And things might very soon have gone as sadly as on our first departure from Berlin, where a certain woman, the daughter of a preacher, who afterwards married a prominent citizen of Spandau, offered me, on taking leave of me before the campaign, her whole fortune in golden chains, pearls and rings, begging me, with tears, that I would accept it for her sake, and

employ it to my advantage.—O madness of women, above all other madness! It could not profit her in any way, since I was taking my departure, and even if I returned she could not marry me, as I often told her. "God forbid!" I said; "how could I rob an orphan? Take your things, recollect yourself and go home!"—But she went on weeping. At least I must take the embroidered green silk napkin with me, in memory of her. So I consented at last to take it; but our regimental baker snatched it away from me and scolded me for not accepting the money. This young woman it was who was present at the Elector's hunting-lodge. Against my will she journeyed to Frankfurt. So great was her affection that she afterwards, for my sake, tried to drown herself—in a well.

But now, to resume our march. We proceeded on our way, on horseback, over the Alps and by way of Jablunka, which is a fortified block-house,* and here there is more than two miles of swamp, crossed by a causeway of logs, with swamp and forest on either hand, which makes very unsafe travelling.—In the mountains near by I heard a great deal about *Rübezahl*, and one fine night I came upon him. There is no question but that there is something in the legends; either an outcast forest goblin or the Devil making sport. For I heard with my own ears, when we were lying indoors one night on a bed of straw, how at midnight there was a terrifying bustling and clattering of horses and hounds, and of hunting, which passed the house several times over. The people told us that this was a nightly matter and no novelty to them. They told us also many things of the *Rübezahl*; how he annoyed and plagued people, and had the power of avenging himself on those that spoke of him disrespectfully, by means of thunderstorms, etc. So, in his neighbourhood, I behaved as though all this were true.

As we drew near to the Trentino I fell ill. But as we no longer had any wagons left, I was bound upon my horse, ill as I was. And so we proceeded until nightfall, when we either went into billets or had to lie in the open fields.

In billets I had as much as I could do, what with the

stray pastors and Catholic priests, who above all wanted to convert me before my end, which, they informed me, was assuredly close at hand. For death was looking out of my eyes, and I could not long hold out. Already I was like a bullock buried in the meadows. Even now I might turn to the true Church !—for which reason they sought to keep me there as a hostage. And when I was well again they were willing to send me on at their own expense. At the time I heard that it was intended that I should remain there. But I prayed to Heaven that I should not be left there ; that by God's will I should be sent on with them. And although I had not been able to talk much with the reverend fathers, on account of excessive weakness, but could only give negative answers to the babble of the lusty Capuchins, they notwithstanding never left me alone when I came to a new district.

I must then have been dragged along for some thirty or forty miles, during which stage my comrades gave me nothing to eat save raw apples, which they put between my lips, and washed down with water, until the merciful God gradually restored my energies and gave me strength to do my duty.

Many of us ate grass during this illness, and never lived to see Hungary.

As I was still suffering from this disorder when we were passing through Kremnitz, Schemnitz and so on, where the towns and villages were covered by fortresses, we got hold of a few wagons now and again, and I (who was still exhausted and suffering from colic) used to sit hunched up on the wagon, in front, near the shafts ; and just as we were driving through water up to the hubs the linch-pin dropped out and the fore-carriage broke loose ; and there lay I with my head in the water, for I, with others, was thrown out of the wagon. There was nothing to be done until we were sitting in the wagon again and could dry ourselves in the sun.

By Gran we crossed a bridge of boats amidst the thundering of the guns in the higher fort. Here we were once more able to obtain good wine and mead.

After passing Gran we must have marched thirty miles or more without coming upon any town or village; but we frequently met with nomads, among whom whole families lived underground, like savages, who lived by hunting and fishing, like Tartars; they also ate raw meat and the meat of cattle that had been killed, or had died; as the gipsies do. Of whom we came upon several thousands before

AN ITINERANT MONK.
From Moscherosch's "Gesichte Philanders von Settewald" (1650).

Leopoldstadt, entrenched behind an embankment, so that they were serving the Emperor for pay against the Turks; yet before long they were serving with the Turks. But they would not allow anyone to give them orders, organizing their own commando. They had their own generals and colonels and their own courts of justice, and they would not suffer any interference. They had their own priests and were baptized, when adult, in the rivers, being immersed three times. Their betrothal, too, is curious, since father and mother or the most intimate friends lead the bride to the bridegroom, she having first of all bathed quite naked in a river, after which she is strewn and presented with green boughs and flowers. They subject themselves to a strict legal discipline and behead or shoot the offender with no

undue hesitation or delay. As I saw on this very occasion, they are not always united among themselves. Fire was kindled in their works, and they proceeded to kill one another with a great many cries for help, so that heads and bodies were rolling down their embankment; for our camp was close at hand. Directly one of our horses died, which happened pretty often, we took no particular measures, as they would immediately cut it up and make merry over it.

Otherwise at this time the once beautiful Hungary was a wilderness. And as I have already stated, for thirty miles and more there would be neither town nor village, and the grass was as tall as a man, so that we often had to clear a path for ourselves. As for the countryside about these sparsely scattered towns and villages, it was full of wild dogs, which attacked men and cattle just as wolves do; more, they scratched up dead bodies from the battle-fields and elsewhere. I myself was very near to losing my life through these dogs, as I shall presently relate.

Waitzen, that lovely little town, was all destroyed and devastated by fire; the inhabitants had all been driven away. Neuhäusel* had just been re-conquered but was not as yet restored.

And here I must float down the Danube with the sick and the powder-magazine, which was always being attacked on either side by the Turks. But by reason of the breadth and the rapid current they could not harm us, though indeed we were often left stranded on a shoal. In the Danube there is a great whirlpool which drags in all that approaches it too closely, ships and men, so that we had to look out for ourselves.

Now, as we drew near the fortress of Ofen,** already beleagured by the Imperial and Bavarian troops, by which the Danube flows right through the middle of Pesth, a hot fire from cannon was opened upon the fleet. However, none of the shots hit us; they fell either too short or beyond us. Our men had to work with all their might in order to land on the right-hand bank, in the Imperial camp. Our camp was allotted to us on a height near the Imperial camp.

And here I was alone, having no money and no provi-

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OFEN AND PESTH UNDER TURKISH RULE.

(Published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius.) "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes."

sions. Our army was biding its time on the farther side of the Danube. This being so I decided to join it by way of the bridge of boats near Pesth ; but I had not realized that the distance was over a mile.

Here it happened that a pack of dogs, at the very least two hundred strong, came running at me from the hills with the greatest fury. This put me in a great taking, but presently I remembered a trick of my revered father's, by which he had long before protected himself against the wolves. I took off my coat, tied it round my waist, took my hat in my mouth and crept toward the dogs. First of all they stopped short, then began to bay and to run back up the hill. Who more joyful than I that God had rescued me from this danger ?

It would indeed be extremely thoughtless were I to speak only of such peril as this while the Turks were fighting so stoutly. But I got out of this difficulty only to fall into another peril ; for although I could plainly see our camp I could not reach it on account of the ponds and marshes. I was so exhausted that I lay down to rest, facing a hill.

And there, behold, rose the camp, and, as usual, to the terror of the Turks, whole salvos were being fired from cannon and muskets, the like of which had at that time seldom been seen. Hence the bullets were raining around me, so that I did not know which way to turn. So I had to weather them, and by the grace of God none of them hit me, as they were all aimed high.

At last I saw people crossing a ford which I had not been able to find, and I looked up my superior officers, reported my sickness, drew some pay, and entered camp with them.

A few days later our people had to set up some batteries in the approaches. I had to accompany them, until the time when the Imperial and Bavarian troops made an attack and captured the waterside part of the city.*

God in Heaven, what cries for help, what lamentations from the wounded of all nations ! Sometimes the arm or leg was blown away ; sometimes the head was cleft in twain ; sometimes the lower jaw was gone so that the tongue hung there. When such were brought to me on tent-poles,

crying piteously: "Ah, kill me! Stab me, kill me!" I used to think: "God be merciful! Can such things be? You should have kept away from this as your father warned you."

But greater still were the shock and the horror when I entered the communication trenches. There the bullets were flying and whistling about me; and then I saw how

THE ARMY SURGEON AT WORK.
From Hanns Friedrich von Fleming's "Der vollkommene Teutsche Soldat" (Leipzig, 1726).

one man after another fell shrieking. Then it was "Surgeon! Surgeon!" from this man and that; "Here, a bandage!" And in the meantime you yourself may drop, shot dead. As it befell now and again.

Our one battery of sixteen demi-cannon and three-quarter royals * was made ready in a night with only sixteen men killed or wounded over the business. And there I had to remain. I made arrangements on a plot of turf behind some gabions. But a constable,** a countryman of mine, saw me and led me away to the powder-magazine, which was

dug out of the earth, like a cellar, covered with planks and turves which had a very steep slope, so that if bombs fell upon them they rolled off backwards and could not do any damage. He said that not an hour earlier General Schönecken's bodyservant had been shot dead with a falconet * on the plot of turf where I had first been sitting.—However, on account of the gunpowder it seemed to me much more dangerous; for if by accident such a place caught fire everything would be blown up. For this reason I did not spend the night there, but lay down upon a large gun-carriage. And although this heavy gun was often fired by day, and by night bombs were thrown out of the mortar, I was able to sleep there from sheer fatigue.

Yet another battery of twelve cannon was ready for service and manned. And although the Turks often made a rally and came against our batteries with a great outcry, they were valiantly thrown back by our reserves and our covering troops and received with sharp scythes and stakes and similar weapons, so that few of them made their way back again.

Once, too, when it rained all night, and our men could not keep the slow-match of their matchlocks alight, two hundred men were cut down and beheaded. Among them was the valiant Lieutenant-Colonel Löschbrandt, and many another well-known officer. Moreover, they came charging over the palisades and trenches so far that they spiked some of our guns,** but these were soon bored out again.

And these losses were swiftly avenged by us, so that the Turks feared the Brandenburgers as they feared the Devil. What is more, the Emperor's contemptuous speech, which used to be applied to them in the beginning, when we first arrived, was now meaningless: "Hey, look at the dressed-up Brandenburg dolls! What wonderful deeds will they accomplish?"

For when we set up the third battery on the other bank, in the open, with two forges attached thereto, and the balls were rammed into the guns red-hot, and immediately shot into the city, fires were incessantly breaking out, now here, now there, wherever the red-hot balls had fallen. But these were soon extinguished by the Turks, who are a stout, thick-

set, laborious people. If, when they went to pick up a cannon-ball, it burned their hands, they used to say: "That is a Brandenburger ball." But they sent them back to us, giving us fair measure, to our scathe; and their fire on this our field battery was so violent that no one dared show himself. Once a noble Marquis, despite all warning, would not make use of the iron screen through which we used to look when reconnoitring, but in order to display his courage looked openly over the edge of the redoubt, and a moment later he lay there dead, shot through the head.

I sat there in a deeply dug hole, protected from the bombs by turves and rafters, to one side of the door, for falconet bullets came in at the door every moment, passing me and plunking into the wall. Bombs, too, fell on our bastion, but rolled down before they burst.

At first I did not understand what was meant when the sentry called out "Fire! Fire!" Everybody ran a little to one side and fell flat on the ground. I alone remained standing until I understood what was happening. For the bombs, when they fell, first made a hole in the ground and lay there, as long as the fuse was burning; it was after this that they did their work, hurling their outer portion with such violence about them, and to some extent upwards, with a terrible buzzing and whistling, so that all they struck was shattered in fragments.—It is a pleasure to watch them at night, when the firing commonly takes place. The bombs rise like rockets, often so high that one can no longer see the fuse burning; then suddenly they fall, with a shrieking and whistling, to their appointed place in the city or elsewhere, whence there often rose, after the explosion, a pitiful howling and shouting.

Once, in the early afternoon—about one or two of the clock—the Spanish engineer* shot a fire-ball into the city from his lofty hill, where he had his battery of sunken mortars, and by good luck he hit the Turks' whole magazine, so that in a moment, with a terrific crash, the whole thing went up, and some thirty yards of wall fell on the defenders or flew into the air with more than five hundred

men. The whole sky was darkened. Stones and earth and men flew in all directions. I was keeping watch just then on the quay of the port, which was shored up for safety by long balks or buttresses of timber. All I could think of was that the end of heaven and earth had come. I took refuge, with others, under the buttresses, and for half an hour no one could see, what with the dust, dirt, stones and smoke, nor learn what had really happened, although the unprecedented cries for help of the Turks in the city to some extent pointed to something of the sort.

That was the time for storming the place. We could then have taken the fortress in a moment, yet we lay there six weeks longer, losing many men and despoiling the people. It was merely that the General could not agree with the Duke of Lorraine, who was acting as commander-in-chief.

The Turks soon repaired their defences. Day and night they fortified the city and offered a stout resistance. They held us five times when we stormed them after breaching the walls, driving us back and shaking us off. Although the generals commanding graciously asked for and gave quarter, in accordance with the usages of war, they only became more embittered. They regarded us as dogs that yelped at the fortress. With the many Frenchmen who were in the fortress they contrived all sorts of new preparations and stratagems of war, with brimstone, powder and stink-bags in particular; and the women hurled them by means of pitchforks under the feet of our storming parties, so that they were burned all over and, by fifties or hundreds, quite naked, black and charred, flung themselves into the Danube in their agony.

They also made many mines, and many were concealed in the city, and blew up afterwards, together with churches and other buildings. Whereas our men thought the place an occupied fortress, they were suddenly blown into the air. What a heartrending sight, where some were all shattered and buried alive, some with an arm or leg blown off, and some with no greater loss than their hair!

And I must in particular praise our Brandenburgers for

SIEGE OF A FORTRESS, *circa* 1690.

From a copperplate engraving by J. A. Thelott (1654–1734).
The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

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this: that when others were most frequently repulsed in their storming-parties and assaults, the Brandenburger soldiers climbed up on the breaches in the walls, waved their hats and shouted: "Forward! Forward! Up again, brothers!"

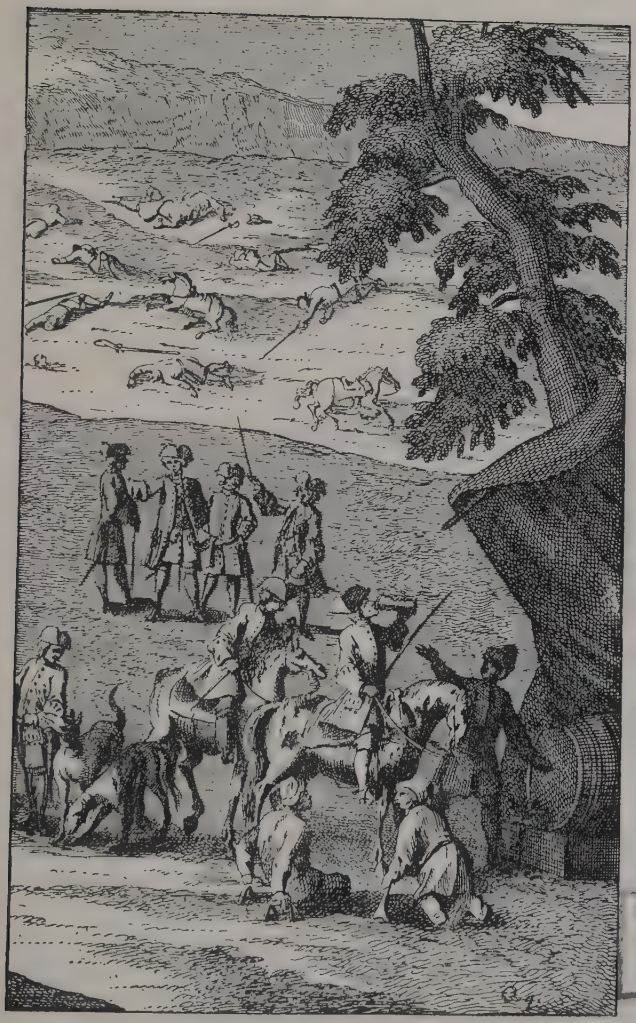
But such courage was the cause of many a valiant officer or soldier biting the dust; for so we lost the two brothers, the Counts of Dohna,* one of whom, in revenging his brother's death, was himself shot dead. All of which I saw with my own eyes, from my hillside.

But in the meantime I fell ill, contracting dysentery, and so severe an attack that everyone thought, as did I myself, that I should die of this painful malady. I lay in the tent covered with rags and sacks. No medicine could help me. I was quite unable to eat, whereas many were unwillingly putting up with short rations.

However, out of forethought for the future, I had assiduously picked up all sorts of victuals which we had found superfluous on the march and which others had thrown away, placing them in our armourer's cars—for, *nota bene*, the military chests were carried in them—and hitherto had not touched my rations. But I was unable to keep down any food. (Nevertheless, later, when the dearth became greater, they came in useful.)

But now I lay in my tent expecting my end. I was very feeble and exhausted; and quite forsaken, having no one who would fetch me a drink of water, so I had to pay dearly for service. By chance a musketeer was passing by who had a wooden skewer of pickled gherkins. I called out to him: "Friend, give me some too; I'll pay for them!" But he would not, saying: "If you want anything send to the Imperial camp on the Danube."

I pulled myself together, summoning up all my energies, so great was my longing for gherkins. Crawling rather than walking I came to the market-folk on the Danube, who had a whole vat full of them. For five Hungarians** they gave me nearly a hat-full, which I ate with such a craving that I asked for more, to the tune of two Hungarians. And inside me everything went cold.



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AFTER THE BATTLE.

Detail of plate in Hanns Friedrich von Fleming's "Der vollkommene Teutsche Soldat" (Leipzig, 1726).

I set out on my journey back to the camp fully persuaded that it would be my last. I reached my tent. There was one of my comrades, who asked me where I had been, for he had not thought to see me back again. I told him what had happened. "Well," he said, "that's the last nail in your coffin; so prepare yourself."

I lay down, begging him to cover me up. This he did, as well as he could. He was still a true friend to me; it was he who had kept me going with apples, during the march. But then I had cured his arm, which had been shot through.—Well, as soon as I laid myself down I fell asleep. He thought I was dead. I slept for some six or eight hours. Then it was as though I were newly born. The pain and purging had ceased; there was no fever; *in summa,* I was well again.

This is well worth noting: that what Nature craves for with inordinate desire is her medicine! She has indeed her reasons: for since the sickness was highly febrile and all the parts relaxed, the pickled gherkins were cooling and astringent.—However, I can hardly copy this prescription into my prescription-book, much as a certain doctor wrote: *Sauerkraut for fever!* *

We had to change the position of our camp, for although we lay well back the enemy could reach us with his artillery, so that the cannon-balls often came rolling or bouncing through our camp, and one day one of us, thinking to stop the ball with his foot, had his boot carried away, and part of his leg with it.—However, in the other camp we were nearer still to the enemy, who used to fire his cannon into our assemblies, prayer-meetings and Sunday services, which were held with the greatest reverence under an outstretched canopy or awning, before the drum, or a field table, when the sacrament was administered, and general confessions heard and absolution granted, so that tent and tent-poles (and once two horses, but no men) were shot to pieces.

We were stationed close to the Imperial cavalry, on a high hill, with our artillery. My tent was really included in the cavalry camp.

And I had my bed, of brambles and brushwood instead of straw, of which we had none, made half an ell in height

above the ground. This was a very good thing for me, since the greatest number of deaths took place among those who lay flat on the ground. The mattress was of old sacks and the coverlet of canvas from old tents.—This, too, was an improvement, for we often had to lie under the open heavens, when my saddle was my pillow, and my horse used to graze in the night with one leg hobbled ; on the hill, in particular, I often woke of a morning with half my body lying in the water, yet I slept soundly.

The whole of our camp on the hither bank of the Danube was surrounded by an entrenchment half a pike in depth, because the enemy, 200,000 strong, used to show themselves here and there on the hills in order to relieve the city.

About the third day after we had moved into the new camp, and had cut trenches along our front, and erected a bulwark of wagons round our artillery, the Swedes* included in the camp, where some of their regiments were posted beside the Saxons, had not yet completed their deep trenches : which fact was betrayed to the enemy. Consequently, early one morning, when it was scarce growing light, the whole Turkish army entered our camp through this gap.

I heard first the roll-call and then the alarm sounded by the cavalry. I ran out of the tent, and lo ! there came the whole Turkish army, like a swarm of bees, still in the meadows between the hills, uttering terrifying cries, as is their wont, disorderly and confused, excepting an aged Aga,** who rode straight forward, with his naked sabre in his hand, right through the camp. All whom they met were put to death. Before our troops could stand to arms and take their places many were caught unawares and slain.

But when five regiments of the Duke of Lorraine's, first a cuirassier regiment and then four regiments of infantry, took up their position before the gap, and the artillery began to play upon the Turks, whole salvos and tiers of guns being discharged among them, those who were still without were swept away in a moment, before the horse or foot could fall upon them. We now gave chase to the enemy ; but those who were inside the camp—and of these there were at least six to eight thousand—happened upon the Bavarians and

Walloons, who had hastily dug a trench and thrown up a breastwork. Here the Turks fell like flies. Not more than six hundred or so returned to the city, and of those most were wounded.

But when the Turks remaining in the camp fell so fiercely upon the Bavarians and Walloons, they were driven back again and forced into our camp also. They were fain to cross the entrenchments and escape from us, but this was impossible, for the earth thrown up left a great cavity into which horse and man fell headlong, so that all were put to death by the pike-men. What with this and the firing, not one escaped from the shambles.

They were so distracted and so confused that I myself saw how they sat on their horses, still sabre in hand, although their hands were folded together, with their eyes bent upon the heavens, and so allowed themselves to be shot down. Not one was spared; all were massacred, and most were then flayed; the fat was roasted out and the *membra virilia* cut off and great sacks-full dried and stored; for of these that most costly preparation known as *mumia* * was made. As a general thing, too, they were cut open and their bowels were searched, in case it should be found, as had previously occurred, that the dead men had swallowed ducats.

What with the great heat of the day in this country (though the nights are very cold, to which most of the sickness and morality among the Germans was caused, especially when they lay on the bare ground and the cold damp penetrated the body, which, with the new Hungarian wine, gave rise to dysentery)—what, I say, with the heat, the roasting of fat, and the dismembered corpses of men and horses, there was in every corner of the camp such a stench and a poisonous miasma that no one could remain there. The Hungarian peasants and *Tolpatchen* ** were compelled for this reason to dig great pits into which they threw the bodies one on top of another and covered them up.

In this situation I might have made my fortune if I had remained in my tent, by which two Bashaws (distinguished Turkish generals) had been shot dead; whom I might very well, in the tumult, have dragged into my tent and plundered. But at first the panic was very great, for no one knew how

things would turn out. Consequently everyone retreated; I myself ran to our fortress of wagons. And there, as the Turks fell upon us in squadron formation, I fired on them vigorously with spent cannon-balls. Our Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel had previously forbidden us to fire before we could see the white of the enemy's eyes. But there was no one to hold us back or give the order to fire; we just blazed away as hard as we could. Our Colonel even wanted to turn his guns about and point them at the camp, but for this he was severely reprimanded.

Afterwards I noticed that two or three men of the Imperial cavalry (for we were stationed close to them) had stripped the two Bashaws by my tent and had found purses of gold and other valuable booty. I went up to them, desirous of sharing with them, since the men lay in our camp and close to my tent. But the fellows merely jeered at me, while one young man, whipping out a stiletto hidden in his bosom, said: "Thou so-and-so! What, we shot them, and you want the booty?"

Meanwhile the before-mentioned cuirassier regiment, with Generals Heissler and Dünewald, two famous fighters, had pursued the Turks, some brisk skirmishing ensuing.

When, by the fourth day after this, the enemy, with his whole army, a hundred and fifty thousand strong, had stationed himself on the other side of the camp, in the form of a half-moon, in order of battle, on a hill, most advantageously situated (for a wide, precipitous ravine, a natural defence, ran right across the front of his camp, so that there was no getting at him; on which hill he had planted many heavy guns, which subsequently maintained a vigorous fire upon us) the equivalent of five companies of every regiment in the army, horsemen and artillery included, was ordered to move against the enemy in the open. At the same time it was decided that the troops were to line up three deep in battle formation. The artillery, to whom I was attached, were in the middle, screened from view.

Thus for three days we lay facing one another. It was inspiriting to hear the bugles, drums, kettledrums and shawms all answering one another amidst the thunder of

the guns and bombs. The volunteers, and those who wanted to display their courage, challenged the enemy to engage them then and there, but they had first of all to obtain leave from the high command, when they promptly fell upon the enemy. Now and again the Turks, in ones, twos or threes, would prance to and fro with horse and sabre, whereupon one, two or three of our side would fall upon them with pistol and broadsword, so that presently one or another fell from the saddle. I could not but marvel how quick the Turks were with horse and sabre, for although they certainly carried pistols and fired the same, their aim was none the less commonly uncertain. On the other hand, if our men fired and missed they were on the spot, still in the saddle, like a flash of lightning, beheading their opponents, lifting their heads from the ground by means of their sabres and bearing them off in triumph.

On the third day, about one of the clock, their right wing fell upon our left, which was nearest the city, so that all could watch the spectacle ; they made a great many signals and were in great need of relief or support. The battle was joined with a terrifying din, and what with the mist and the firing I could not see much, although I was lying on the hill, looking on. Only our left wing was attacked with such violence that if the forces had not engaged elsewhere, or had certain regiments of cuirassiers failed to arrive, they would assuredly have been forced to retreat.

However, the battle was spreading, and on either side the fighting was so desperate that presently the whole army was engaged. There was nothing to be seen or felt but the thunder and lightning and reek of the guns, screams and shouts, the rolling of the drums, the rattle of the alarm and the calling of bugles. The guns, loaded with canister, played furiously upon the Turks, and were dragged hither and thither as the enemy manœuvred.

After the lapse of an hour or so the enemy began to flinch and made for the hills, with the loss of a few cannon and a terrible waste of life, which, for that matter, occurred on our side as well. And there they lay, all heaped pell-mell, some dead, some half dead, and some only wounded.

My good comrade came with me to the battle-field. We

CAVALRY ENGAGEMENT, *circa* 1690.

From an engraving by J. A. Thelott (1654–1734). The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

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found among others a Tartar with a great beard; he lay on his back with legs and arms outstretched, his quiver and bolts lying beside him; he was severely wounded and was groaning. My comrade took his three-edged stiletto, which at that time was worn after the Spanish fashion, and stabbed the old Tartar through the breast. As his breast-bone was old and hard the stiletto broke in the middle. Never in all my days have I seen a man so enraged as he. He seized the hilt and what was left of the blade and dashed it with such violence against the old man's head that he died instantly. I burst out laughing at him: was he trying to revenge himself on a dead man?

Our army followed the enemy up into the hills a mile away. There the Turks stood at bay, and again there was a hot engagement.

Meanwhile the siege made no progress. Although on several occasions the enemy made a sortie, he was valiantly thrust back by the Bavarians, who were besieging the inner fortress and the city, as the first engagement took place on that side. Thanks to opportunity, and the unsuccessful sortie, part of the already shattered stronghold had been occupied and was held by three hundred men. The Turks in the meantime, had laid down so much brushwood and straw for smoking the garrison to death that a number of them fell from the saddle stifled, and broke their necks.

Owing to the circumstance that the enemy had been driven back and a fresh engagement had taken place in the hills, in which our troops were victorious, I gave the unconsidered rashness of my youth full rein, and sought to become rich, and if God had not especially upheld me I should soon have been a lost man, as to both body and soul.

In other words: since I had leisure, I had made myself familiar with the spot where the engagement had taken place, and I repaired thither when the ground was once more covered with men and horses, dead and wounded, lying pell-mell one on another. I was relieving one body of a green velvet fur-lined cloak with silver buttons, as others were doing, when the wearer began to speak Hungarian. He was still living, so I left him lying and laid hold of another

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BATTLE SCENE, *circa* 1690.

From a copperplate engraving by J. A. Thelott (1654–1734). The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

body, which I judged to be Turkish, since I observed a silver-mounted quiver full of arrows and a silver-mounted sabre, which I took, and was beginning to look for his purse.

There was a great shouting. I looked behind me. The place was full of Turks and Tartars, who were beheading the plunderers with their sabres or throwing them across their horses by the hair of their heads, for the Turks and Tartars are powerful men. It would have gone thus with me also had I not immediately flung everything from me and taken to my heels. Fortunately for me, I came to a dam or causey with swamp and brushwood on either side, into which I leaped, and lay on my face in the brushwood, peeping out as best I could. And behold, the whole Turkish army went past me, across the causey, having repulsed our troops and driven them back!

As you may suppose, I thought every moment would be my last, or that I should be made a prisoner for life! And I suddenly regarded my madness with aversion, and thought to myself: If you get away this time you will never again in all your days go searching for booty!

After a long time I heard heavy firing, and the throbbing of the German kettledrum came nearer and nearer. At length I realized that the Turks were falling back and that our troops were pursuing them. So I then crept out again like one half dead, and then and there I resolved to go back to camp, where I was but ill received by our Lieutenant-Colonel.

The enemy was severely punished four or five times before he entirely quitted the field, and sought to retreat by the pontoon bridge, but even so he was pursued by the Imperial troops and a rich booty was captured.

We had to return to our first camp, and we saw, on the march thither, how by broad daylight the Turks made a sortie and captured from us full three to four hundred women, who used to wash linen and gossip on the banks of the Danube, by the port, and dragged them, shrieking fearfully, into the city.

It was now the eleventh week of the beleaguerment, and there was as yet no talk of surrender. During this period

I had much to do and little rest; by day or night I could not even take off my boots. It is to this that I refer the convulsive starting and the colic which to this day announce a change of weather.

Before any mischief was expected certain bodies of picked men in every regiment and company, infantry as well as cavalry, and certain grenadiers, were told to provide themselves with powder and lead and also to lay in wine and brandy. From this I certainly concluded that stormy weather lay ahead of us. As it befell.*

It was just about that hour of broad noon when the Turks used to sleep or eat. They were wholly unaware that our men, in the greatest silence, without firing a single shot, were climbing over the breach. The same arrangements had been made on the part of the Bavarians.

I was on a hill not very far away, lying on my stomach, and had an excellent view of the whole affair. Directly the first shot was fired the alarm was sounded, and it was all a continual firing and bombing and casting of stones from the catapults, with musketry fire and clash of swords; even the Turkish women and children, and thereto the Jews, of whom there were many in the city, took arms and entered upon a desperate defence of the breach, so that the corpses lay piled there to the height of a tall man. But to no avail, as they must have known. They might defend themselves and shout as they liked; the city was captured.

Not even the child in the mother's body was spared. All who were encountered were put to death. As I then saw with my own eyes, when I too had left the hills to press into the city through the breach, women were lying there still holding their discharged pistols, or sometimes a naked sabre. They were stripped naked, and had been thrust through and through with pikes, the womb especially; and their bodies were ripped open so that the yet unborn children fell out; which to me was the most lamentable thing. Naked children of one or two years of age were spitted and flung over the city walls! I was amazed by what was done and to see that mankind shows itself far crueller to its own than the beasts.

The two commanders, one of whom was blind, were shot, and lay in the market-place before one of the mosques,

surrounded by numbers of Turks, who had not carried arms, or offended in any way, but would be taken thence as prisoners.

Those who were not slain in the fury of battle, or such of the Jews and Christians as had concealed themselves, withdrew to the citadel, which held out two days longer, stoutly defended, until it capitulated, when they had to surrender themselves as prisoners of war.

I had been scarce half an hour in the city, seeking plunder, when it caught fire ; whether by the act of Turks or Christians I do not know. But it was a scandal and a pity that the beautiful city, and the precious booty gathered together from all over the country, for its better preservation, should be burned in this infamous way.

The fire exploded a mine which the Turks had laid in the city, with such a frightful upheaval of the ground that no one could see or hear for the dust and smoke. There were cries of panic : the enemy must have broken in again behind us and was destroying the whole city ! Crowds of people thronged, stricken with terror, toward the outer walls, forcing me thither along with them ; some leaped headlong from the walls and broke their legs or necks. I had loaded myself with an abundance of booty and intended to stick to it ; as for what otherwise befell me, that would be as God willed.

At last the city was quiet again, and the report went about that the finest church, which the Christians were still building, but which had been turned into a mosque by the Turks, had been blown up by a mine. However, I refused to put any faith in rumours ; what I wanted was to make off with my booty. But just as I was passing the cellar of a house which was all on fire upstairs an old mother with two marvellously beautiful daughters came creeping up to me, seizing my feet, as was their manner, weeping and lamenting in their own language, which I did not understand, and beseeching me to vouchsafe them protection and their lives. I looked at them ; they were handsome and well-grown, one of twelve and the other of some eighteen years of age. I bade them hold on to my overcoat, which they

did, and so, one following in another's footsteps, they accompanied me over the breach and into the camp.

I considered for a long while what I could do with them. But my pains were in vain, for so soon as I had brought them into my tent and set food and drink before them, for which, however, they had no inclination, General Schöneck, our commander, heard a report that I had brought some handsome Turkish women from the city. He ordered me to send them to him immediately, that he might protect them.—I had to do so, thereby losing my precious booty.*

Henceforth they accompanied us, with many other distinguished Turks and wealthy Jews, until they were taken to Berlin. There, as I was again attached to the Guards as army surgeon, I had to treat them both as physician and surgeon. They were subsequently christened and made distinguished marriages.

After this I went yet once more into the city of Ofen. But there was nought to do there, since all was burning. And this was my mistake: that when a young man I did not make friends with a number of other men of my age, but was alone. For when I wanted to get something it was too difficult; or others took it from me by force. As when I had two fine bullocks and a horse; for while I was driving them out they were taken from me by the Emperor's men, who were like devils, and might well have stabbed me to death over the business.

In one house which I entered I found a small sack of engraved gems (cornelians), of which I have still several. *Item,* this was in a cellar; and as I was investigating I discovered a great Turk behind the door. He was startled, and I even more so; he could easily have killed me; but he proceeded, by signs, to beg for his life. I let him go and he took to his heels.

Such was the notable siege and capture of the city of Ofen, and what befell thereat, so far as I can still recall it.

Amongst other matters, it is worthy of remark that there are three warm baths at Ofen. One, the Kaiserbad, is magnificently built and is still in good preservation.

From a tap or spigot flows boiling water, in which eggs may be boiled or chickens cooked; while the other tap yields ice-cold water; which is most convenient for the Turks, since in accordance with Al Koran they must bathe daily, cleansing their bodies, and both men and women must shave the hair from their *pudendis*. Hence there is a bathroom of running water in every house. But they will suffer no bells, whereupon early in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, a boy cries from their mosques: "Allah, Allah, Allah," which is supposed to mean: "God, Thou Who art God to all eternity."

I must say that the Turks are more sincere in their religion than many Christians, for they fall upon their faces thrice daily, and more especially when they find water do they wash themselves and pray to God. But no uncircumcised person may enter their mosques on pain of death; and they themselves must take off their shoes before they enter. They drink no wine, only mead and water, and if a Turk does drink a little wine in secret, and it becomes known, he is beaten in public. Theft is severely punished. A Turk may take as many wives as he can support; but if he cannot support them and complaint is made against him he must give them a letter of divorcement and money, setting them free; on the other hand, he can dispose of them absolutely, body and soul; they are not permitted to go abroad unveiled or to let themselves be seen.

About this time I was told by an army surgeon—who had been in the employ of the Dutch Ambassador—that when he had cured a Turk of a dangerous wound, the Turk, becoming very fond of him, often took him to his house, but no womenfolk did he ever see there—and the surgeon asked the Turk if he would not let him see his wives. The Turk promised to do so, and took him upstairs to a chamber where six beautiful women were seated on a carpet in the middle of the room, their legs crossed under them; they had been sewing and embroidering, but appeared to be angry and startled.

Thereupon, said the Turk: "Come with me, I will show you more." He then led him by the hand down a staircase

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THE STORMING OF OFEN.

From "Sieghaffte Teutsche Waffen" (Prague, 1686).

and opened a bolted shutter, saying that it was impossible to see. And he could not see anything, for it was dark, but he plainly heard something rustling in the straw; whereupon the Turk unbolted yet another shutter and there was then plenty of light. And he now beheld a horrible sight *: a woman, stark naked, with her hair hanging wild all about her, chained, and lying near a hanging, half-eaten corpse. Whereupon the surgeon, greatly horrified, drew back and asked what this might be?

And the Turk told him: this, too, was one of his wives, who had played the whore with a renegade (that is, a Turk who was, to begin with, a Christian) who was now hanging there. He had surprised him and stabbed him to death and hanged his body there, and the woman would have to eat of him until she died of starvation.

Cruelties of this kind are more frequently inflicted upon women, who should be on their guard, for the Turks are very jealous.

To continue: Of our return march it should be recorded that the allied German armies, as already stated, pursued the retreating enemy beyond Essek (skirmishing of a violent character occurring without intermission); but he made no stand and eventually decided to winter in Greekish Weissenburg, so that this year, as it was already *in ultimo Novembris* or *Decembris*, there was no more to be done.

We too fell back upon the fortress of Komorn. And as our horses were all dead our Generals bought, with our money, merely Hungarian oxen, which drew the artillery, amidst which were many Turkish guns and mortars, among others a Brandenburger piece which had long ago been given up for lost. These are still in Berlin for all to see.

We went into camp near Komorn, on an island, going under canvas for three weeks for the purpose of fitting out, for already it was beginning to snow heavily. Nevertheless, our little company was so rejoiced to think that it was going home, that in the morning, when the cheery artillery réveillé was sounded, we often used to dance in the snow before our tents—although we had neither food nor money—because the still contending parties had, as far as we were concerned,

concluded peace. And we, in three or four days' time, had neither food nor money left, and had to undergo extreme hunger; for the Hungarians gave us nothing, not even a drink of water, without money; for all they cared we might have died. They themselves ate horseflesh. When I myself ate it with sauerkraut and knew not what it was that I ate it tasted well enough to me save that it was very red and frothy to look upon.

Here many of our men died and many suffered from starvation. For these I bethought me of an expedient and suggested to several of the gunners that they should come with me and get something to eat. They laughed at me: I must be a fool, indeed absolutely crazy, for there was no town or village to be found within thirty miles. However, I reassured them; they need but follow me and bring with them a sack apiece—which in the end they did.

Both on the outward and the homeward march through the wilderness (where the grass had grown to a man's height, and many men and women of the camp, carrying their children on their backs, had swooned away on the march, as a result of the penetrating heat beating down upon their heads, and had cast themselves down to die there) I had noted that many ponds were so full of fish that one might see them leaping into the air. We went about a mile and a half from the camp and found such a fishpond. There I took off my clothes and tied up the neck and arms of my shirt, the others following suit; and we then swept the pond with the open part of our shirts, and obtained many fish, so that we soon had all we could carry in three bags.

When I came out of the fishpond I was quite black with leeches; not so the others. I did not know what to do. When I tore them off they left their heads sticking into my flesh. I had not in those days learned the trick of sprinkling them with a little salt, ashes, or hot earth, when they at once let go. Yet I judged that if they were immersed in another pond they would fall off me; which in truth they did. But I nearly lost my life over the business, since I leaped, without a boat, into the flowing Danube, which, what with its rapid current and its eddies, swept me away

from the bank, so that even by swimming with all my might I was barely able to reach the bank again. However, at length I got out, and thanked God, Who had once more preserved me.

We carried our fish to camp, cleaned them, slashed them with a knife and sprinkled them thoroughly with salt, and proceeded to grill them over a fire of green willow logs, kindled in the deep, wide cooking-pits which we had dug before our tents. When the rest of those in camp smelt our fish they came running up, even to our officers, for the pangs of hunger were upon them! We gave some of our fish, as we felt inclined; some we sold, and bought for ourselves a little bread and wine, but we did not dare to drink much as it was new and apt to cause a flux of the bowels.—A delicious meal for starving men!—The gunners were truly grateful to me and gave me of all they had.

One day about this time they had warning that the cow-herds and ox-herds were driving their beasts across the bridge of boats in the morning and back into the fortress at night. They kept to the tall growth on the marshes or the high grass, so that the herds could not see them except from a height, and threw a noose over the horns of one of the oxen and tethered it in the marsh. When in the evening the other oxen turned back on hearing the herd's horn, and re-entered the fortress, as their habit was, and the draw-bridges were lifted (the herd believing that he had all his oxen) they returned to the marsh, stunned and killed the bullock, and flayed it, burying the entrails and the hide; and the meat, divided into joints, was brought into camp and secretly buried.

I was already asleep in my tent when I was called: "Surgeon!"—for a joint of thirty pounds' weight was allotted to me. I knew at once what that meant; I took it and placed it in safety under my bed, where I had buried a little barrel and always had meat pickling there with salt and juniper berries.

The sun had scarcely greeted earth again when two very officious commissaries, with a number of Hungarians and officers, made a search through their camp, and ours as well. And the news ran that where they found anything the

FORTRESS OF KOMORN.

From the "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes" (published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius).

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owner would be hanged. There was an end of our laughter! Most fortunately they found nothing, and I was afterwards able to eat my roast in peace, nor did it give me hiccoughs.

Yet I was taught one lesson by this affair. When the camp was struck and the tents had been removed I sounded with my stick the place where the Colonel's tent had stood. There I found a long dagger or sword-blade. I thought it might best serve me as a spit for roasting; and used it as such.

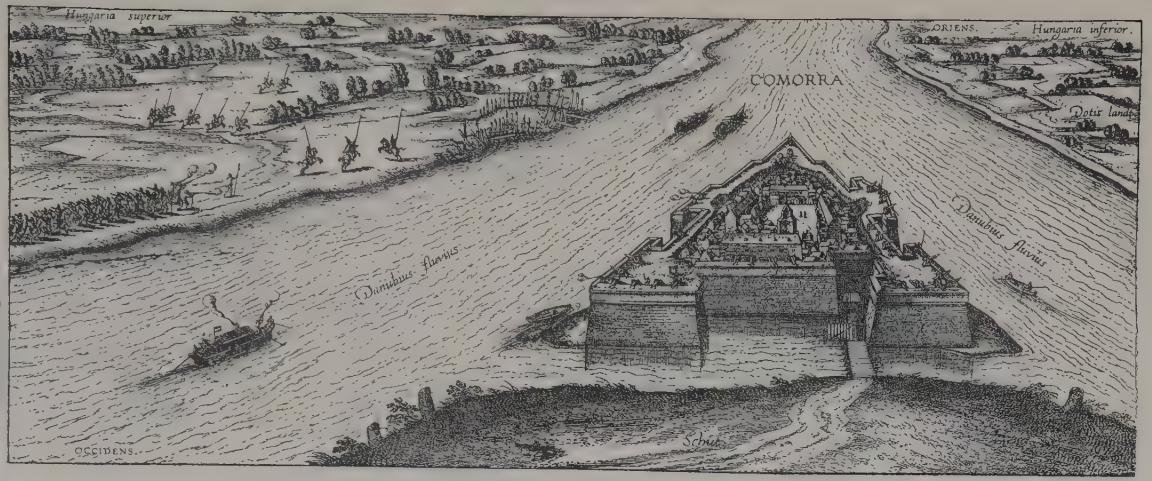
Some time later I was sitting by my cooking-pit and roasting some meat (for I had a good deal) which gave off a savoury smell and attracted the Colonel's servant, who would very gladly have had a piece of it. As he sat down beside me he noticed the sword-blade and the spitted meat.

His first question was: "Who gave you the stiletto? It was stolen from me and has been broken off short."—I told him how I had come by it and at first thought no more of the matter. But when an under-officer sent for me to question me and I was subjected to a penetrating cross-examination, I might explain and excuse myself as I would: I had to pay a thaler and a half for the trifle or be placed under arrest.

I gave in, greatly annoyed, and I learned, three days later, that this very serving-man, making merry on my money, had become drunken with new Hungarian wine and had died in great pain on a dunghill.

This fortress of Komorn lies, triangular in form, between two arms of the Danube. It is a very strong fortress and has never yet been captured by the Turks. It has a long bridge of boats which one must cross to reach it, and near at hand lies a small market-town, little more than a village. It has good pasturage and a good fishery. Never in my life have I seen such carp and such sturgeon as there. One of these carp was driven to the market in a cart and cut up with axes and sold like beef, and the same with the sturgeon, which I saw lying in the water, chained, a monstrous size.

I came very near to losing my life on the river Waag during our homeward march. By night I used to ride with



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FORTRESS OF KOMORN.

From the "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes" (published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius).

a patrol which was reconnoitring the roving bodies of the enemy's troops ; all were silent, and no one dared utter a word aloud or allow a spark of his linstock to be seen. Even when I fell asleep in the saddle my horse followed the rest of the troop. But he caught sight of the shimmering of water—to be precise, of the river Waag—and being thirsty he left the track and entered the water. Straightway he fell with his forequarters in a slough, the Waag being full of such ; so that I was immediately thrown, which awakened me. Once more I had proved but a poor rider, and I could not get out again. I could neither see nor hear anyone near me. But at length the horse, having satisfied his thirst, exerted his full strength.—And whither now, thought I, in the dark ? However, I gave my steed the reins, and setting off at a smart steady trot, he soon caught up with the troop.

We returned by almost exactly the same way as that by which we had gone forth. In the marshes it was very unsafe. The order was given that no one must go more than twenty paces from the track ; for those who did were promptly shot dead and stripped. The foragers were in no less danger, for they were fired on full twenty times, once when I was with them. On this account, moreover, the gallows were always full, standing high above all, gaunt and bare.

We found ourselves before Breslau once again and passed the night in precisely the before-mentioned village in which I had been so comfortable. And these good people had come out a long way to meet us. Their very first question was, whether I, the surgeon, was still alive ? And when they beheld me there were great rejoicings ; though they complained that I was no longer a civil physician. They very much wanted me to be billeted on them ; but the Lieutenant-Colonel reserved the billet for himself. Even so they begged him that I might dine with them, and showed me every kindness in their power. And it was agreed that I was to visit them again ; which I did some years later ; but I was too late, for the young woman was already married.

Behind Krossen, ten miles from Frankfurt, we had to lie full four weeks in the large villages, under quarantine.

We were not allowed to enter any city, for the Hungarian sickness was hung round our necks like a curse. And there was not a day but numbers of our soldiers died, so that our position was a pitiable one, for we were getting no pay. My own coats and shirts were in tatters. And although I had to tend the sick and physic them and make them sound again, I was so full of vermin that I got no rest of a night. On this account I had to creep stark naked into the hay at night, for only then could I get any rest.

At last came orders that we were to march to Berlin, But even then we could not show ourselves by day, but had to lodge without the gates, at a place appointed. There we received some of our pay and our discharge. And then—off and away!

In some respects I did not come off so badly. I had left my strong-box in Berlin, with my old employer, in the Molckenmarkt, with a good suit of clothes and some shirts and clean linen. My old clothes I threw into the Spree. After this I looked up my old acquaintances, who obtained employment for me with General Staff-Surgeon Horch.

There were our three journeymen—now four, I making the fourth. They all esteemed and valued me and entrusted everything to me, in particular our lazaret and hospital barracks, in which we had those suffering from the French sickness, which horrible malady was very common in Berlin at this time, so that I earned a great deal of money thereby; and the *medicamenta* we drew from the Castle *apotheca*.

Among many others I was attending a Privy Councillor, who often complained to me of his illness. When I had explained the whole malady to him and how it must be treated, he unhesitatingly submitted to the treatment; but he begged me, heart and soul, to let no one know of it; not even his household or his servants. For he had no wife, but dined every day at the Elector's table, and was, in fact, his carver. The whole treatment had to be very compendiously arranged. With this end in view I boiled all the decoctions myself and took them to him, together with the pills and all else that pertained to the treatment. The most difficult part of the treatment was providing a sweating-

chamber. For this I devised the following contrivance: I turned an upholstered chair upside down and laid a plank seat upon it, on which the patient had to sit stark naked, while under him I set fire to some *spiritus vini* in a small basin. I hung about him first his blanket, folded at least fourfold, and then his velvet-lined cloak, fastened by means of brooches. There my gentleman had to sit, and sweat as long as he could bear it. Then I laid him in his bed, gave him a restorative and went away.

But eventually I had a very unfortunate experience with this gentleman. Either the heat was so great, and by shifting the chair to and fro he upset the little basin containing the burning spirit, or he overturned it with his feet; for the whole contrivance beneath him was a mass of flames; everything was burning; so that anyone might have seen the victim leaping and dancing about the room. I had my work cut out to prevent any further damage. My patient was cured and I received a magnificent fee.

This Privy Councillor had a great library. One day when I was shaving him, noting the numerous books, I asked him: what he did with so many books?—for he could never read them all through.—"Oh," he said, "there are not many; when you have finished I will show you more; although I certainly shall not read them all through, yet I turn to them if anything comes up for discussion." When I had finished attending to him he showed me an adjacent room which contained fully three times as many books, reaching from floor to ceiling. I was more amazed than ever. Then said the gentleman: "Now, tell me of a book that I do not possess."—I told him that I had heard a great deal of *Theophrastus Paracelsus*.—The gentleman looked at me and said: "Ha! He was a sorcerer and a perverted exorcist!"—However, as I maintained that he had a great deal of valuable surgical and medical knowledge, and that I should very much like to read him, he gave me all five volumes to take home with me. I carried them home under my cloak with the greatest delight, supposing that I had acquired a great treasure.

I at once purchased a pound of candles and studied at

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PHYSICIAN BY A SICK-BED.

From Georg Ernststahl's "Ars sanandi" (1730).

night so diligently that I was soon quite crazy on the subject. Especially when I came to the *sigilla* and the magic mirror; I was sitting deep in thought, when my sword and everything on the wall began to move; and the whole room was going round with me. As it was midnight I took fright and crept into bed.

My comrades asked me why I had turned in so early, contrary to my habit? One of them said: "He's afraid his darling will have him taken off to the stocks" *; for they knew of my adventure in Spandau.—Another, a Prussian, said: "As a matter of fact, it often happens in Prussia, that someone is sent willy-nilly to the stocks."

We had scarce made an end of talking and were trying to fall asleep when something knocked several times on the door. The Prussian called out: "Come in, come in!"—thinking that it might be a patient, for such often came to us at night. But as no one came in and the rapping continued he ordered the boy who slept with us to open the door. He did so, and lo!—in came a great black he-goat, bleating and capering.

We were all sorely affrighted and at first believed that this was the living Devil, and crept under our beds. But as after a time we could not see that anything was happening, and as the capering continued, the boy was bidden to make a light. Then we saw that it was an actual goat. But we really had no wish to confide in him; for the longer he stayed the more frightful he became, leaping from table to bench and eager to get out again. Our apprentice, accordingly, must play all sorts of pranks upon him; clapping an old full-bottomed wig upon his head, clinging on to his tail and driving him out of the house with a horse-whip.

Nevertheless, I subsequently turned again to the theophrastic *opus* and amongst other things I found this: how to cast a seal ** of two different metals at a given hour and engrave thereupon certain *signa* and *characteres*. He who wears this, hung upon a green silk thread, on the bare skin of his breast, should be fortunate in all things, in his relations with those in high places, his love-affairs, etc.

Oho! thought I; here, for once in a way, is something

for you!—I made myself a similar amulet, casting and engraving it at the time prescribed by the calendar, which I diligently studied, and hung the handsome amulet round my neck.

From that moment onwards everything went awry with me, no matter what I undertook! Yes: people had become so unfriendly that I received my discharge from my employer (*N.B.*—How well the Devil knows how to corrupt needy youth!) and was let off all the more easily as far as *specie* was concerned, in that my employer was jealous.

Previously, before this happened, my comrade, who otherwise would have had to attend on General Schöneck —since he could not stomach everyone, and many he drove away—was obliged to set out on a round of visits to country patients. And then the General sent word that he needed the barber. My employer ordered me to attend to him, and to apologize for the absence of my comrade, who was in the country.

There was not much for me to do, and I would rather have sent another in my place, since he was so eccentric. However, I summoned up my courage, provided myself with two army razors and thought to myself, I would trim him in such fashion that he would not ask for me again.

When I reached his palace a number of colonels and other officers and soldiers were standing about the hall, in front of the stove. The manservant, a poltroon of a fellow, but extremely tall, asked me what I wanted: whether I had come to shave the General?—"Yes," I said.—He announced me. "Come in!" cried someone. I presented my employer's compliments, addressing the General as "Your Excellency*!"—"What? Ex . . . ex? I'm not a schoolmaster nor a churchwarden; I'm a Lieutenant-General! Call me that!" I bowed, and begged him to excuse me.—He asked me, further, whether I was obedient, where I had been before, and so forth. Meanwhile the manservant was holding before him, where he sat reclining in a large chair, a great silver basin full of soapsuds. I set about him quickly and vigorously as though I had a peasant before me. This pleased him greatly; so when it came to

the razors I gripped his skin even more vigorously, and shaved him with long firm strokes of the razor. I had soon finished.—"Ha!" he said, "and why haven't you come to me before this?"—I explained that I had been with him in Hungary. He asked me how I had prospered there.—"The Lieutenant-General himself," I said, "best knows what our condition was; however, I was unfortunate in that I fell seriously ill, for everything I possessed was stolen out of the cart, so that now I have nothing; for five months' pay has still to come to me, and if I had it I could use it to my advantage and buy myself a suit. If you would graciously recommend me to Master von Grumbkow, especially as you took the beautiful Turkish ladies from me." . . . "I'll do it," said the General, "though I don't know that it will be of any service to you."

Thereupon he wrote a short note in French and gave it to me with the order that I was to come again.—And I did so.

That evening I took the note to the Lord High Court Marshal von Grumbkow. At least twenty people were waiting for him, who were questioned as to their business, one after another.

My turn came. I represented my needs as well as I could and inquired about the balance of my pay; referring to the Lieutenant-General.—But it was all of no avail. He threw the memorandum on the floor before me and informed me that I must wait; there were plenty of others in the same position who needed the money more and had done more to deserve it.

Greatly dejected, I went to my old employer—the first of all—who lived just overhead, and complained to him of my wrongs. He consoled me: I was to wait for an hour, when the private *secretarius* would come into the shop to be shaved; he would put in a good word for me; I need only promise him a ducat of my money and he would soon help me.—As indeed it fell out.

For when he came, and checked the balance, he took the account in hand himself and in the evening placed it once more among the *expeditiones*, and gave a favourable report of it, so that he won over Master von Grumbkow, who

signed a request to the army paymaster * to settle the account. —Who then was more joyful than I?

When he handed back the account to me I paid him a ducat, as was promised; and the same to the army paymaster, whom I formerly used to shave.

However, it was once more in safe keeping, and I was told: "There is no money in the safe; you must wait."— But when I once more tried the golden key, and promised a ducat, the safe was opened and I was told: "I shall have to advance it. Come to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, and you shall have it."

The hours were all too long for me until nine o'clock came round. I omitted nothing, and after the subtraction of one ducat I received all my money, seventy-five thalers in good Brandenburg six-pfennig pieces; all my pockets and purses, etc., were full. I had never had so much money in all my days, so that being overjoyed I could not refrain from telling my employer, Horch, of my success.

He stood staring at me. "What's that you've got?" —"My pay!" said I.—"How did that come about?"— When I told him about the General he seized his hat, buckled on his sword and ran off, saying: "I have served my Elector now for thirty years: I have as much money owing to me and can obtain none of it, and now a fellow like you outdoes me under my very nose!"

I should have been forced to leave at once, when he returned without having received anything, had not General Barfus been in Berlin just then, allowing no one but myself to shave him, and always paying sixteen groschen twice a week. He was a tall, stately man; and his previous barbers had always run away, quaking with terror, before they had even done their work. He himself told me that Master Wirbach and two journeymen had behaved in this fashion.

It may very well have been yet another cause for jealousy, in the eyes of my employer, when he learned that I had earned so much money. It did not actually injure him in any way, yet it concerned him that we should be free to receive such money in addition to our military pay. In any case, I must take my departure!

However, I did not make much ado over the matter, since I now had a good sum of money and a new suit and clean linen on my beds.

I travelled by the post as far as Magdeburg, where the broad streets promised me well-paid employment. But when the page was turned, alas! I found no such employment.

And when I saw that beneath such an aspect everything was going backwards, I meditated on the past, when I judged everything by the senses; as indeed I had done now. For this reason I went to the Cathedral, where the Court Chaplain Winckler himself preached of confiding in God, and how grievously a man sinned against God when he turned away from Him to some earthly object and put his trust therein; how Satan often described to a man all the kingdoms of the earth, but his picture thereof was but a vaporous image, a shadow-show, behind which lay nothing but care, anxiety, fear and the knowledge of evil.

I thought to myself: how can the man have such exact knowledge of my condition and speak of it so precisely? It was by a special providence that I entered the church with such thoughts of repentance, reflecting that I myself had greatly offended God, that I had turned my face away from Him and had set my trust in such dross and filth; as for example in my seal, my amulet, which I still wore hanging on my breast; and thinking thereon I resolved then and there that I would never wear it again. I felt in my bosom and tore it away from my neck and threw it the breadth of the street into the deep mud.—And at once my mood became more easy and more cheerful.

And in this connection I warn all men, young and old: to guard themselves against such books and such objects; yea, never again to turn from the good God, or to set their trust in man or in any sort of devil's tricks. These last are exceeding perilous and full of evil and I knew many in those days who came to a bad end, having made use of such witchcraft.

Had not God's favour plucked me forth from such practices who knows how it might have gone with me in the many perilous circumstances hereafter related? God be praised for this!

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MAGDEBURG : THE MARKET-PLACE.

"It may interest the reader to know that wherever a gutter turns aside from the main kennel it indicates a street or lane.'

After a copperplate engraving of about the year 1700. The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

I travelled from Magdeburg to Halborstadt, putting up where I had been wont to do so, and came to Master Ropper's house. On account of arrears of pay, however, I lodged in an inn, since both the weather and the roads were bad and prevented me from proceeding. In my inn were two handsome young women who likewise wanted to go to Brunswick, but had found no opportunity until we hired our own carriage; and dearly we had to pay for it!

We continued our journey in company. And these attractive young women would gladly have found me more familiar in my behaviour to them; above all, they would have liked me to pay for them. They had not much at the best of times, as was evident when the hostess of our first night on the road charged us with a quantity of yarn which was missing. I immediately opened my box and was acknowledged to be innocent. But with my companions matters did not go so smoothly, until the beadle came and opened their box by force. But they must in the meantime have had time to throw it away, and subsequently they wanted to obtain satisfaction for the affront which they had suffered. I, of course, was neutral. I kept my box at night in safety under my pillow and kept my pockets and my wallets fastened up, as I always did on a journey. My things having been packed together in safety and in proper order, I carried my box only to and from the coach. So I never had cause to complain, as others did: Ach, where is my sword? Where is my hat? Where are my gloves, my shoe-buckles? My cloak, my shoes have been taken!— And so, on my many journeys, I have never lost anything.

At last we came to Brunswick. And here I parted from my female companions, going to a different inn and announcing myself, as convenient, as bound for Hamburg or Hanover.

But having let slip an opportunity I had to content myself with the fact that some farmers with carts who had been carrying corn and other commodities were willing to take me with them. So I struck a bargain; but the farmers did not want to leave their good beer and porter.

In the meantime a woman came who wished to travel

with us. For the time being she left her baskets with the farmers. She would be back directly; but she had something to see to.—We waited a long time, but she did not return. The farmers wanted to start; they were cursing and packing up their empties. In one of them they found a child, well wrapped up in clean clothing, with a sugar-stick in its mouth. The farmers were terrified beyond all measure, well aware that this trick had often been played and that the woman would not return. They made no great to-do about the matter, but hanged the basket upon a wagon standing by the gate and kept a diligent watch to see whether someone would not take the basket.—Now see, here come two soldiers; and now they have disappeared with the basket from the wagon under one of their cloaks! They must have thought to find in it something good to eat, as in many instances they would have done; but were cruelly disappointed.

Directly the basket had disappeared I had to set out, helter-skelter, with the farmers; they were market-merry; having drunk themselves full during the morning, they were laughing and making an uproar all day long as a result. They drove on through the night and broke a wheel of my wagon asunder, just in the village in which they dwelt. It might really have been arranged thus of intention, for they did not want to take me any farther!

What was I to do? I was full of lamentation, but the farmers laughed at me. I must stay with them!—I thought to myself: I'll travel this time with farmers, but never again!—They directed me to the tavern or ale-house. That night the post would go by about two o'clock, and I could travel by it.—As I did.

There were two post-carts, full, since it was after fair-time, of Hamburg merchants and other people, among whom I was much in request; for in return for shaving them and renovating their wigs they paid my expenses in almost everything. They had fine wines and brandies with them, and excellent pasties, etc., and of all these I received my share. And these gentlemen talked so brilliantly as we journeyed on that it was a delight to hear them; while

among the farmers there was no conversation; so I had fallen on my feet.

In Hanover we put up at one of the principal hotels and were magnificently treated.

But when the postillion blew the horn for the resumption of our journey everybody took from his purse eight groschen of our money for his food. The host came and took from each of us his contribution. There was one traveller only, who without a doubt must have been a disbanded officer and a noble, and whose conversation had revealed great experience, who still sat motionless. "Well!" said the host, after taking a long look at him: "doesn't the gentleman wish to give something too for the *Mahlzeit*?"—The other looked at him smiling and said: "I have no money." Then the host: "Come, sir, don't tease me any longer; you are the only one still sitting."—"I have no money!" he replied.—"Then why do you sit amongst honest folk and eat with them?"—The gentleman gave him a smart slap in the face: "You rascal!" he said: "do you imagine that I am not an honest man and a trusty comrade because just now I have no money?"—The host returned the blow, punching the officer's head, and called his servants, and a brawl ensued, so that the others all hurried indoors again from one of the coaches, and inquired into the true cause of the quarrel. They then took out their purses and paid for the stranger, as they did throughout the journey; in return for which he assuredly displayed the greatest possible courtesy and entertained the company with many brilliant discourses, and, as I learned afterwards, in Hamburg, where he had both property and friends, he richly rewarded them.

From Hanover we went *per posta* to Celle, where we inspected the splendid castle and the country house of the Prince; and thence to Lüneberg, where we saw the magnificent salt springs and marvelled at the leaning steeples, which seemed as though they were that moment about to fall.

To Harburg next. We dined there magnificently and at last proceeded by boat to Hamburg, where, in whatever direction, nothing but shipping was to be seen. I marvelled at this, for I had never in my life seen the like.

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HANOVER.

From Johann Angelii a Werdenhagen's "De rebus publicis hanseaticis tractatus" (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1650).

At last we arrived at Bohm (Baum) and our baggage was put ashore. Then there was a sight! What people! One seized my box by one end, another by the other, and each wanted to make off with it. It was as much as I could do to keep an eye upon it. But when they saw that I was more cautious than they thought they spoke civilly enough and offered to take me to a good inn for drink-money.

I agreed at once; one has to do so. Otherwise they squeeze one all the more afterwards! I, together with a

HAMBURG, 1654.

From Gottfried Schütze's "Die Geschichte von Hamburg" (1775).

student who was in the coach with us, was warned to go with them and to be well on the alert; otherwise they would be off with the baggage!—We did as advised, and at last, by way of many streets, were taken to a blatant brothel in the Neumarkt.

I saw at once, with my student friend, what was afoot; for the *bona robas* came one after another and presented their compliments. Like my student, I would gladly have

gone away again. But just where should we go?—We rented a locked room for lodging, and settled down like a couple of silly geese; we allowed no money nor anything else to be seen; and one of us had always to remain indoors when the other went out, so that we should not be parted from our property; for both the student and myself had a great deal of money in our boxes. *Nota bene!*

It seemed a long time, and a wearisome one, before the student could find an *hospitium*,* and before I could obtain employment from the barbers; but at last the day arrived.

As for me, I went to the Council barber, an old man with a wife and an only grown-up daughter.

I had been there barely three days when the old man took the opportunity of announcing that as he and his wife were old, they wanted to give the barber's shop with all equipment to their daughter, if they could find a good man, such as they believed me to be, who would take them over. There was none such among his journeymen, for they were lewd fellows, always drinking and gambling, but in me they saw nothing of the sort, etc.

To this I replied: That might certainly be possible; however, I was still young and in need of experience.—"Well," said the old man, "it needn't be settled just now."—I arranged with the old mother that the daughter should be bidden to listen to me. But she, after the Hamburg fashion, was such a minx that I knew nothing of my position in the matter. However, I did not worry myself unduly.

A week later I received a recommendation—from whom I knew not—for the post of regimental surgeon at Itzehoe in Holstein, under the King of Denmark. And as the pay was considerable I did not like to refuse it, and accepted.

When I told my old employer of this he was not at all pleased. He would have liked to keep me with him longer, and had intended to discharge the senior journeyman on my account. But turning another man out of his situation was a thing which I was not willing to do. I had to promise him to return at the end of six months. And this ought certainly to have settled our business affairs. And now

matters began to move. I took my leave and set off down the Elbe on a smack,* bound for Glückstadt, and afterwards to Itzehoe.

In those days I had seldom been on the water. When a storm overtook us it fared ill with the little vessel, and all was in confusion. The women were ill, and I was sea-sick. Still, we had to hold out as far as Glückstadt, which is a fortress and a handsome city, close to the Elbe and not far from the sea, so that in stormy weather, when the wind is in the north-west, the sea breaks over the walls; as happened at this time.

From Glückstadt I proceeded to Crempe, which is likewise a fortress. Thence by coach to Itzehoe, to my new employer, a septuagenarian, who was obliged to rely on good journeymen. And I must in truth observe that as to these three journeymen everything was left to me.

And because I had read extensively in my years of apprenticeship, and had gained experience in Hungary, and in connection with the Guards in Berlin, all went well in the matter of both internal and external treatment. Moreover, all the officers and under-officers alike showed their liking for and their confidence in me; even Major-General Fuchs and Colonel Ellenberger, *N.B.*, valued my services.

In this respect my former superior officer, the Regimental Surgeon Christoph Eberhardt, with Prince Christian's regiment, nineteen hundred strong, became quite jealous of me; though he dared not allow it to be remarked. At the same time, I was not anxious to marry any one of his three grown-up daughters. They were not well bred or well educated; they drank and ate to excess, and were slothful, although one after another tried to make me fall in love with her; so much so that they often wrangled as to which should make my bed, on the pretext that it smelt sweet! And the mother, too, tried all kinds of tricks; dragging me out of my bed to see her daughters, who were supposed to be ill; for proof of which I had only to lay my hands on the patient's body. I alone knew nothing of all this and remained more stupid than a goose. For which reason this

otherwise cunning woman used often to say: she had pumped many a man dry, but of me she could not make head or tail.

Nothing was left undone. There was plenty and to spare of food and drink, and especially of French brandy; and my gentleman and his wife got drunk only twice a day. The result of this was poverty, although he drew more than seventy thalers a month. In the morning, if he had not drunk French brandy, he trembled all over and could not do the least thing until he had swallowed a pint. Then all went well.—In him one saw how an evil habit becomes second nature; of which I shall have more to say hereafter.

In this drunken poverty of theirs they were nevertheless eager to make a great show, and to do as others did; so every year, as was the custom of the country, they killed one or two bullocks and five or six pigs, so that the household, after the fashion of those parts, was able to keep house all the year round with faggots, smoked meats, pickled pork, etc. Thus it was seldom that any fresh meat was bought, all the year through; excepting fish and game, which are abundant there. As I seemed prosperous nothing would serve but that I must lend them forty thalers, and for all thanks they promised in a note to repay it shortly. But nothing was farther from their purpose; for they did this with the intention of binding me to them and making me dance to their piping and to return nothing! *N.B.*

I waited for a long time: in vain. They did not repay me, and they would have liked to borrow more! And because they plainly saw that I had no intention of nibbling and spending money on the young women, there were now and again misunderstandings, so that in the end I became impatient of the whole affair and, admonishing them severely, I complained to the colonel and the general. They straightway ordered the regimental quartermaster to give me half his pay each month, and even threatened him with removal from the regiment! And this was the end of the matter. Everybody in the house looked scornfully upon me. To this I was not accustomed and I bemoaned the fact that I had purchased such treatment with my own money.

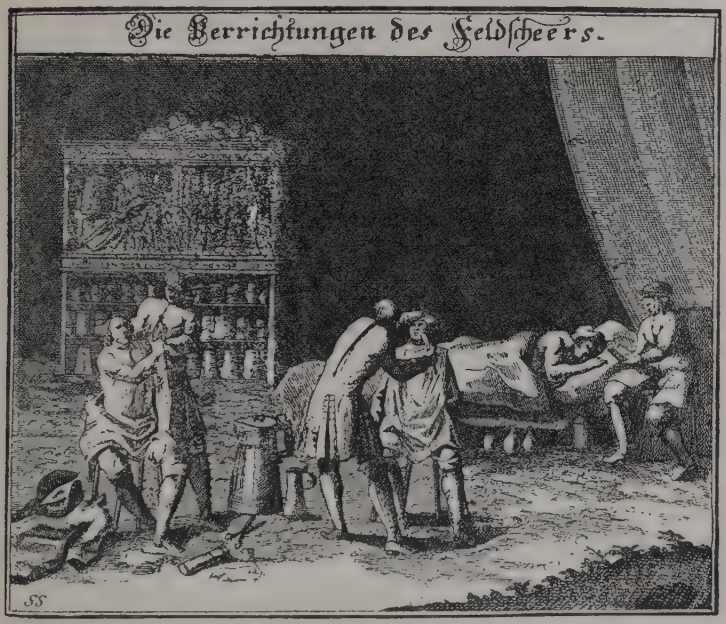
Since I had to wait upon Major-General Fuchs, who greatly preferred me, we came to be on peculiarly confidential terms; particularly when I had read him parts of my father's letters: how he had once been taken prisoner by the Swedes on the island of Rügen with a Lieutenant Fuchs, and chained to him; they were to have been hanged, because they were with a party who had done the Swedes much hurt, etc.—"That was I!" he said. "Heigh-ho, was that your father? I ought to do something for you; only tell me what? You ought to have the regiment and give the old man something from it."—However, I did not wish to injure the old man.—But he continued: "I will get you an ensigncy and give you my 'cousin.'" (This was his housekeeper, who was, as far as that went, a fine-looking woman).—"Oh, General!" I said, "I am too young as yet; and I cannot change my profession."

It so befell that the King of Denmark sent eight thousand men to England, to fight against France. My Colonel Ellenberger went with half the regiment, as brigadier-general; and I was selected to go with it. Meanwhile I had informed my father of this, and as he, in fatherly fashion, advised me not to go, since the war looked to be a very hazardous affair, I followed his advice (*N.B.* Which all children ought to do, to their profit!) and withdrew from the business thus: There was a Danish *Chirurgus*, by name Hans Lundt, whom it was important to approach in this matter; he paid me a good price for my campaigning chest, which was all prepared, and went in my place. But a year later he returned naked and destitute; the French freebooters had captured him on his way back and had taken everything from him.—But Colonel Ellenberger (and I can to this day show my discharge under his hand and seal) was beheaded for surrendering Dixmude without need, being found guilty of high treason.—In view of which I thanked God that I had taken my father's advice.

In the meantime, while, as I had anticipated, there was now no bearing with the old regimental surgeon, and I wanted to get away, the General was unwilling to allow me

to leave the regiment. Since four companies of the regiment were in the Crempe fortress I had to go thither and draw my monthly pay from each company. But if there was any extra work, or if a soldier was hurt by some accident, I had to be paid for my services.

And so all went well again; and I was in the good books of the commander, and indeed of all the officers. *N.B.—Who knows his work gets more than pay; the bungler*



THE REGIMENTAL SURGEON AT WORK.
From Hanns Friedrich von Fleming's "Der vollkommene Teutsche Soldat" (Leipzig, 1720).

all men wish away!—I had good quarters, with good people, who waited up for me with bed-warmers, gave me dinner at midday and saw to the washing of my linen as though I had been a child, and all for a modest sum.

I was a diligent churchgoer, giving ear to God's word. And especially when Master Matthias von Kronhelm preached I seldom left the church but in tears. For this man, out of his great tribulation and experience, preached and prayed with the most penetrating spirituality. For he had filled an

eminent position as priest in Copenhagen, but had the misfortune to kill a beggar. As he was going down the church steps at midday on his way to his dinner the beggar himself violently attacked him, seeking to obtain money from him by force; and he, having a stick in his hand, suddenly struck the man so shrewd a blow on the head as to kill him outright. For this reason, although indeed he was not regarded as guilty of an actual and intentional homicide, he was banished to this penitential pastorate in consequence of the scandal.

But even here I could not remain long without trouble and temptation. There was a certain woman, an innkeeper's daughter, who became dotingly fond of me and sought every opportunity of making my acquaintance. She sent for me several times, and at last she herself cut one of her fingers and came to me to have it bandaged. And this was such an opportunity. And the acquaintanceship became so close that she could not do without me, nor I without her.

This my landlady noticed. She was eager to put a stop to it, for she herself had two grown-up daughters. At night she locked and bolted the doors; but there was no wall so high that I could not reach my beloved, since there were others with her, and we found many ways to pass the time.

Among others there was a city magistrate's daughter who was more of the male than of the female sex, or so the others confided to me. For this reason she preferred to be with young girls or by herself. But they did not want her, because she was so ugly and had a beard and moustache.—I discovered a really genuine case of the same sort in Breslau.

On the other hand, there was a soldier in one of my companies who passed as such for some years but was at last exposed.

The innkeeper's daughter and her mother were indeed extremely kind to me; but as the talk began to run on marriage I thought to myself: *Cave!* For I had been warned that I should be extremely cautious in my dealings with women, since all my great misfortunes would proceed from them.—But I regret to say that quite enough came

of this talk as it was : as time was to show, and I was to experience.

In the meantime I had considerable numbers of sick and wounded, who had been run through the lungs, or were suffering from wounds in the abdomen, inflicted with the broadsword, or had both tables of the skull hewn through (a condition which in these cases had often continued too long) and was treating them successfully, externally and internally. At the same time, there was no physician to be heard of, so that everything fell upon me, including the autopsies and inquests. And it was on the report of the regimental surgeon and myself—and perhaps on that of the officer of justice, in the presence of officers of higher rank—it was in accordance with our report, I say, that the death-sentence was pronounced.

I have never in my life seen a torture resembling that by which delinquents were brought to confess. While their hands and legs were tied, the hands were stretched over the knees or over the thigh-bones and a stick thrust in between; *item*, a cord with three or four knots was twisted round the head with a stick and continually tightened. Thus treated they all confessed. This torture was known as the Polish Ram. They lay like logs and were pulled about by the legs like so many lifeless clods; their eyes were turned up into their heads; they became quite stupefied and confessed everything; and they lowed like bullocks.

The King of Denmark* was at this time occupying the Duke of Holstein's territory. This gave rise to a dispute and the country prepared for war. Our battalions had to repair to Oldesloe, which is a pass between the Trave and the marshes, leading to Lübeck and Hamburg. But as there were hills round it that made it perilous some six thousand men had to be set to work upon them, to remove them and to make a fortress of them. But this Hamburg, Lübeck and other cities, to say nothing of Lüneburg and Hanover, would by no means suffer.

As it proved impossible to settle the matter in conciliatory fashion by means of commissaries, twelve thousand

Swedes and men of Lüneburg took the field against us. The King of Denmark gave in before such serious preparations; he had to restore the whole of Holstein to the Duke and to stop the building of the fortress at Oldesloe.

Meanwhile I had an excellent billet with a barber, where the Hamburg coach used to change horses, dining every day with the strangers and offering my services to them. This was very convenient to the host and he gave me a free hand.

My clothing was no longer very serviceable. And as I had no lack of money, and Lübeck was only some twenty miles away, and the errand was a pleasant one, I arranged to go thither when the weather was fine. And although I had certainly had opportunities enough of driving thither I preferred to walk and save the coach fare. But I paid dearly for doing so.

On the outward journey all went well; I had the very pleasantest journey possible. On the way I drank some milk at a farm-house.

Now, when I came to the city, the Lübeckers were holding their militia revels right in front of the gate by which I had to enter. They were marching in procession, in great solemnity. The king was led by a golden chain round his neck. Before and behind him were leaping all sorts of disguised, half-naked figures draped in painted linen—Indians, Moors, Turks and courtiers, who cleared a way through the great throng of people. Behind them came the companies of musketeers and six cannon with their gunners. It was a fine spectacle. The best of it for me was that I found several large buttered rolls, which the revellers had doubtless let fall. I was greatly beholden to them, for I was by then very hungry. I sat myself down and ordered some beer, spent a long time watching the spectacle and had no need of a further meal until nightfall.

I slept in a tavern on the market-place, renting a sitting-room of my own and dining there. For three days I saw the sights of the city and the harbour, gazing too at the houses and the women, who were handsome creatures, wearing a kerchief drawn over the head, as in Hamburg, which makes them even more comely and pleasing, especially when

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LÜBECK.

From Johann Angelii a Werdenhagen's "De rebus publicis hanseaticis tractatus" (published Frankfort on the Main by Matthew Merian 1641).

one adds to this their pretty lisping accent. *Summa:* I was very well pleased with what I saw. And I bought a whole new outfit of clothing and had it carefully packed up.

Therewith I set out again on foot, although I might have had my choice of vehicles. But I wanted to save money, and was near to losing some thirty thalers, and my life as well! So it happens when a man tries to be too parsimonious!

On leaving the city I mistook the road and wandering too far to the right came to a dense forest. And because I met no human being on this deserted road of whom I could ask the way I went straight ahead all day long. I expected to find a village; but no!—It grew dark. I was tired and terribly thirsty, but could find no water. (*N.B.*—So I have experienced what terrible suffering is caused by thirst, as well as by hunger.) I ate some leaves from the trees, but this gave no relief. Before long I collapsed from exhaustion, but I soon had to stand up again. I cried continually: "Oh God, how hast thou again let me suffer such misery; I shall die of thirst!"—My tongue was sticking to my gums. I could walk no longer. It was night, and I could hear the wild beasts, especially the wolves, of which there were many in this wilderness, running about and howling. *Summa:* I was in great distress. I prayed to God and repented of my follies, especially my frequent prodigality while in drink.

I drew forth my coat, laid my bundle under my head, and covered myself with my coat, as it was cold of a night. But in vain: I could not lie still for anxiety; I thought every moment: now a wolf or a bear is about to attack you! Yet it seemed as though God had given me strength, for I was able to walk again.

And I came to a tall fence. This gladdened me. I reflected that there must be a village not far off. But it was only the fence of a preserve or park which ran through the forest: a boundary. And when I was looking over the fence, and another day was beginning to dawn, I found myself on the brink of a terrible chasm, in which (if I had climbed the fence as I had intended) I should have broken my neck or legs.

I followed the line of the fence, but there was no ending to it, until it was fairly light. And I saw through the fence,

a long way inside it, a well and bucket-sweep and a cleared path which ran through the fence.

My joy was so great that I felt quite strong again and I hastened to reach it, to quench my unspeakable thirst with water. But when I reached it there was no bucket; still less was there water in the trough! The very little water there was I scooped up with my hand and all but lapped it up out of my two palms. So I assuaged the worst of my thirst.

As I was now very tired and had not slept all night, and not far away was an open granary, I reflected that I should be safe there and might sleep there for a time until it was broad daylight.—But there was a herd of wild swine in the granary, rooting up the spilt grain, which came snorting and rushing at me so furiously that I fell down out of sheer affright. However, I recovered myself and felt about for a ladder, in order to reach the cribs* and sleep in safety. I found one and climbed up it.

Scarcely had I taken two or three steps when I trod on a man's leg. The man started up, asking: "Who's there? Who's there?"—However, I stood stock-still and then withdrew into a corner under the roof. But I could not sleep, anxiously asking myself what sort of a man he was?

The dawning day shone dimly through the shingles of the roof. I raised my head and realized that four men with flint-locks or match-locks were lying there. I crept, shivering and shaking, still farther under the roof and hid myself beneath the straw. At last I fell asleep through utter exhaustion.

When I woke I stretched my neck to see whether the men were still there; but they had gone.

I too, accordingly, descended the ladder and repaired to the tavern in the adjacent village. I had some soup warmed up and some eggs cooked and ordered a tankard or two of beer. There the people began to ask me where I had been and how I had reached the village so early?—I told them the whole story, and how I had gone into the granary where the four men were lying.—At this they said: "Good God, what a piece of luck! Those men are thieves and murderers; they lurk about here and have robbed a number of people,

and some they have shot dead!"—And thereupon the report ran from door to door, spreading alarm through the village.

Some of the villagers came to me and insisted on knowing who I was, for I too might have been one of the band and might have stolen somebody's pack!—I accounted for myself, discreetly and indulgently, not daring to be at all obstinate, or it might have fared ill with me.

But when they recognized my innocence they let me go, and sympathized with me for my misfortune, especially the women. They also promised to put me on the right road again, from which I had strayed a good twenty miles. They made me up a bed behind the table, my pack under my head. There I slept and had a good long rest. Then I had more to drink, and, with my guide, departed. When he considered that he had put me on the right road he left me, not without reward. As for me, I went forward slowly, for I was still tired.

About four miles from Oldesloe I sat me down under a hazel-bush, and casually pressing the ground with my hands I set my right hand on a fever-snake, of which there were many in that part. The creature bit me right through the finger, so that I cried out loudly, and the pain was as severe as though a sword had been run through my body.

Nevertheless, I decided at once what course to take. I remembered to have read, in *Grollius* * and other authors, how any identical snake may be forced to extract its own poison; as in the case of mad dogs, wolves, gnats, bees, etc. I beat the venomous adder to death with my sword and scabbard and wrapped it in my handkerchief. What good fortune was mine! For otherwise I must have died, as had happened both to cattle and to human beings in that very place.—And herein we perceive yet again the peculiar providence of the all-seeing God, Who allows us to be tried, but not beyond our strength; Who so disposes events that the ordeal comes to an end, so that we are able to endure it. Praise, thanks and honour to His Holy Name!

An hour after the snake had bitten me my arm had swollen up to the armpit; and it fared with me as it did with the Holy Apostle Paul, to whom, to the amazement

RENDSBURG.

From "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes" (published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius)

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of the people, no harm befell. I noted that the arm was swelling visibly, and the pain increased. I looked about for all sorts of herbs which are antidotes to poison and bound them on my hand and arm. But nothing was of any avail. I had to contain myself until I reached my quarters.

My host, Master Rebent, asked me at once: what had befallen me? for I looked like a corpse. I told him what I wanted: in short, I gave him the snake to clean and asked him to bring me the roasted fat and liver. He did as I asked. In the meantime I had taken a good dose of treacle * from my medicine-chest, when he brought the stewpan containing the roasted fat and liver to my bedside. With this I smeared my hand and arm with the greatest thoroughness, covered myself up and fell asleep. Three or four hours later I woke, and, to the great amazement of those who had tended me most diligently, the swelling and the pain had disappeared. —This was a quick cure, as the people about me observed!

Here, too, I had many noteworthy cases of fractured legs and arms, etc. But it would take too long to describe them.

However, to describe only one: there was a young trooper in Colonel Aderkass' battalion (who had been in the employment of a baker as journeyman) who, going to a water-hole made in the ice, where there was a spring, had a violent fall, while carrying water, bruising his seat. In the beginning he did not notice anything in particular. But as the parts became badly swollen and very painful his regimental surgeon was sent for, who was of opinion that the matter was of no great importance. He took his leave, begging me in the meantime to apply resolvents.

But the longer this treatment was continued the worse he grew; which I reported.

Then came two old regimental surgeons, and another too, and consulted together: whether they should or should not open the seat of injury? For the baker's posterior, *salvo honore*, was like a kettle-drum, so taut and elastic was it. The majority decided to cut open the seat of injury, but I advised against this, and against their making themselves responsible for such treatment; for as soon as they

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FLENSBURG.

From "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes" (published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius).

applied it the patient would die. And so it befell. And the reason why I knew this was that I had already tried to open the place with a lancet. But as I met with nothing save a violent emission of wind and blood, I closed the incision quickly.

It was no use. The patient was laid on the table and my senior officer opened the injury with a knife to the depth of nine or ten inches. Wind and blood escaped from the orifice, and with them the man's life. Those present looked at one another and could not think how such a thing had happened. There was nothing for it but to say, with a certain French physician: "Is he dead? Then let him be buried."

But the colonel heard from officers who were present that a junior regimental surgeon had given contrary advice and had foretold the result. At this the colonel wanted to have the fellow paid with a note of theirs.—Whether it has yet become due I have not heard!

Thence we went to Rendsburg, in order to fortify it. We encamped on the sandy plain. And thence we moved on to Flensburg and at length to Copenhagen.

But once the Holstein affair was over, for which we drew our own good guilders and received our monthly pay punctually, things began to drag; so I said farewell and returned to Hamburg.

There I again went to see my old employer, speaking to him as to a man who had been left in the lurch. But the case was quite otherwise. The daughter had married a merchant's clerk, and the parents no longer had any desire to part with the business save by selling the barber's shop and everything else. He condoled with me in that I was no longer in a position to buy and no longer such a smart, fashionable person. What had I done with my beautiful hair, which had formerly, when curled like a wig, hung down upon my back?—and more of the same sort.—I replied that among soldiers all wore their hair thus.

I cut short my farewells, and in pursuance of a plan I settled down in a tavern where many foreigners and Dutchmen came

to dine, and to lodge upstairs. There I had plenty to do, what with acting as barber, bandaging wounds and letting blood, so that I had no need to spend much, yet was able to live in comfort.

In this guest-house lodged three Dutchmen from Rotterdam : blood brethren they were—by name Johann Pitersen, Peter Pitersen and Karsten Pitersen, who were sailing Lord William Bastiaensz's ships from Rotterdam. They were commissioned to recruit crews in Hamburg and to buy provisions for their three ships. And while I was shaving them or smoking a pipe of tobacco with them in the evening, they asked me whether I would like to make a voyage with them, in the capacity of master*? They offered to pay me twelve thalers monthly, with free board and accommodation.

I decided at once to accept the offer. They paid me at once an advance of twelve thalers, with which I bought a medicine-chest.

They were sailing up the Elbe again in a week's time, back to Rotterdam, and thence to the Arctic Ocean.*

But before we got there we met with a terrible storm in the North Sea ; so that everything was turned topsy-turvy, and the ship was often covered by the waves, until one thought all would founder. The waves rose high into the heavens and next moment fell into the depths, so that the hair of one's head stood on end and the wind whistled through it.

My vessel was called *The Hope of Rotterdam*, and carried twenty-six guns and a crew of forty-five. The guns once broke loose and the cargo shifted and drove through all the men, from one side of the vessel to the other. As for me, I bound myself with a rope to one of the masts, for I could neither sit, lie down nor stand.—It was a time of distress and anguish. There was not one of us, even among those who had been thirty years at sea, but was deadly ill with seasickness. I no longer knew who I was or where, but was quite stupefied with continual vomiting and—*salvo honore*—purging.

We had to take in all sail, and then the raging sea made a plaything of our vessel, tossing it from side to side. The shouting and commotion on deck was enough to make one's

hair stand on end. At last a terrible thunderstorn overtook us—and at sea such are much more violent than on land—which continued for three hours and more.

Since I was by now very ill, and unconscious, they had laid me in my hammock, which was hung by its four corners near the mast. There I was rocked to and fro in the fresh air, until a great wave struck the ship and threw me against the mast, which severely bruised my ribs. But it was of no avail. I should have been helping others and could not lift a finger to help myself! There I lay, a helpless worm! How-

HAMBURG, 1664.

From Gottfried Schütze's "Die Geschichte von Hamburg" (1775).

ever, the captain came to me several times and gave me something and consoled me: things would soon be better.

At last the fine weather returned, and the sea and wind ceased to rage. Orders were shouted or sounded on the bell. But I was still unable to stand. Afterwards the bell was rung for work or meals, but the very smell of food made my gorge rise; for the caboose or galley stood not far from my mast.—At last I bethought me of a mixture of *spiritus vitrioli*, essence of violets and fresh water. I mixed this

remedy for myself, and it did me good, so that I was soon on my feet again.

We sailed for full three weeks before we could reach the ice, for it was decided that we were to sail northwards almost to Greenland, which borders on America.

The other ships had both parted from us and we were alone.—We entered the ice-floes. The ice lay on either side of the ship, like great hills, pure blue in colour, of sulphate

WHALING.

From C. G. Zorgdrager's "Grönländische Fischerei" (Leipzig, 1723).

of copper, and floated deep in the water. We moored the ship with an ice-anchor to an iceberg of this kind, which was quite two and a half miles in length and breadth.

We had scarcely been lying there a couple of hours before the watch cried out: "A whale! A whale!" And there was a to-do! Everyone ran to his post and swung the long-boats out over the sea, so that they hung suspended from the ship, and into each sprang six men and a harpooner. And thereupon an attack was delivered upon a great whale

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which lay on the surface not far away, blowing out of his head, through two tubes, as high as many a house, with such a roaring that we could hear it from a great distance.—The boats shot forward like an arrow, approaching the fish from behind. They could not approach it from the front, as it flung itself about violently and immediately made off straight before it ; since the whale has a great fear of man and flees before him, as will now be seen.

When they draw close to the whale, rushing swiftly onwards, a harpooner stands on a locker, forward. He is a man provided with a sharp-pointed steel spear-head, made fast to a shaft some ten feet in length, and fully six pounds in weight, which he hurls into the body of the whale with the greatest and most skilfully directed force. A line is made fast to the stake, which is coiled up most carefully in the middle of the boat, so that it may not become entangled. As soon as the fish feels the blow (although it cannot cause it any great pain, for it is merely superficial, going through the hide and into the fat, which is fully half a yard in thickness) he dives into the depths with tremendous force and velocity, often travelling a mile or more under water or under the ice. But as the creature is of stupendous size he cannot, what with his rapid pace and violent movement, remain long under water, but returns to the surface at some other spot to take breath, again blowing the water violently out of the two tubes in his head. For this reason the boats carrying the line must always follow the whale ; and even so the line runs out so swiftly that the gunwale over which it runs smokes and catches fire, which has to be put out by pouring salt water over it. But in case the line should become entangled in spite of all precautions they have an axe lying ready and immediately cut the line in two. Otherwise in a moment the whale would drag boat and crew down into deep water : of which there have been many instances.

Now, when the fish shows himself on the surface, as expected, a second time, the men in the other boats have already followed him up and are ready for action. And if he is still untired they give him another harpoon. Then he lashes out and throws himself about so vigorously that no one dare approach him too closely, or he strikes out with his

tail, which in him is set horizontally, and not as in other fishes; and also with his side flippers, at all and sundry; and at last he goes off again.

But now so much line—often two or three hundredweight of it—is too heavy for him, so that he soon comes up again. And again the men are ready for him in all their boats. They have lances, or shafts nine yards in length, to the end of which a sharp-pointed, two-edged steel knife is made fast. With this they stab the fish deep in his entrails as soon as the ropes tire him and he lies still for a moment.

When he feels this he begins all over again, and he lashes out and rushes to and fro so terribly that no one dare approach him, and the sea all around him is beaten into foam.

If they have lanced him successfully and reached the more deep-seated viscera—lungs, liver, stomach, intestines, etc.—and it is a sign of this if instead of water he blows out blood, so that the boats' crews gathered about him are often drenched in blood—he very soon dies. But if they have not done so they will still have a long job with him, often lasting a whole day.

But if he has now bled until the whole sea all about him is dyed with his blood, he grows exhausted and rolls over on his side like other fish. Then they make a hole through the tail, to which they fasten a rope; *item*, a great hook with a rope attached is placed in the mouth. And by means of these ropes, if he is close to the ship, they hoist him up until he is almost out of water. But if he is far from the ship either the ship must go to him or all six whale-boats must be roped together with their six-and-thirty rowers, when the whale is gradually towed to the ship. But this is a slow business.

When the whale is, as described, hauled up a little way out of the water, six or eight men leap down upon it with large, sharp knives a yard in length; with these they cut away all the fat and blubber, as it is called, which is hauled up on the deck and chopped up with large knives on a table and thrust into a canvas tube which takes it down to one of the lower holds, where it runs into casks, of which sixty are often filled by one fish.

When the blubber from one side of the fish has been stowed

away, they cant the whale over on the other side until all has been removed.

The flesh and bones are left, a feast for the white bears, which come swimming up to the ship, together with numbers of great seagulls, for they can be smelt at a great distance; but they are shot and their beautiful white pelts removed.

When the blubber has been sent below the jaw is cut out. This contains the beard or teeth, which consist of some five hundred blades, close together, overgrown with long, black horse-hair. When the mouth opens these beards move apart from one another; when the jaws close they approach one another; an economic provision of the all-wise Creator of heaven and earth, whereby (as I myself was at some pains to verify) this animal is able to feed itself, so that it reaches the stupendous length of thirty to forty, and even sixty yards in length, and puts on so much fat. I have had its stomach cut out and drained off whole quarts of the internally secreted *chymo*. This I have diligently searched through, but found nothing more than little black sea-crabs; *item*, little fish and also a few fairly large fish. And these above-mentioned beards, overgrown with hair, serve the fish as a net and catch fish like a net. For when he opens his great, stupendously wide jaws, he can take in thirty or forty or more tons of sea-water. This water is teeming with crabs and little fishes, so that when his mouth is full he closes it again and blows out the water through his two blow-holes. But his catch of crabs and fish cannot pass through the hair of the beard, and is therefore swallowed down into the stomach. And this is his food.

These beards, which take two or three strong men to carry them, are hewn with great axes from the fish's jawbone. It is the real whalebone that is thus cut out, and sold at such a high price. The blades are shaped like the blade of a scythe.

On our first voyage we killed nine whales * and a Nordkaper, which was a remarkable success. It meant also a great deal of money for the ship, for one fish may richly repay all the expenses, and still leave something over.

The whale fishery is always conducted in this fashion; which surprised me, for so many tales describe the business in very different terms; stating that barrels are thrown

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A WHALE: SHOWING WHALEBONE.

From C. G. Zorgdrager's "Grönländische Fischerei" (Leipzig, 1723).

overboard for the whale to play with; *item*, that whales are shot at with cannon; that the whale may come aboard the ship, etc.; but nothing of the sort takes place. On the contrary, as already stated, the whale is very timid of men and can see a long way although his eyes are very small.

Once, in fine, bright weather, although in our own country it must have been midnight (for up there from June to September it is always day, and one does not divide night from day except as the sun, which is always visible—whilst the moon and the stars are not seen because of the brilliance of the sun—is to be seen in the east, north, west or south; and when the sun has been once run round the sky one calls it a day's reckoning), and our men were sleeping after their multifarious tasks, I had a very long line, a good forty to fifty fathoms long, made fast to the ship and a whale-boat moored to the same; and I seated myself therein, so that I was drawn through the water, in order to catch some sea-mews, that is, the great ice-birds, which are bigger than white geese and are greedy eaters of blubber, for which reason they will flock in great numbers about a dead whale, killed, it may be, by a sword-fish, which fights the whale, diving under him and ripping his belly open with its great sharp sword (which it bears upon its back, so that it is often seen at a great distance glittering in the sea) and thereby killing him. The sea-mews betray such happenings, so that the whale-fishers find the whale. Or a whale may be driven ashore. The people who dwell in the farthest north, Finns and Laps, eat the blubber, burn it in the form of train-oil and build houses of the ribs and bones.

When I was seated in the whale-boat, at a considerable distance from the ship, catching the ice-birds by casting blubber before them by means of a rod and line (although one cannot eat them because of their oily flavour) a whale of terrible size rose to the surface close to my boat, alarming me greatly. I seized my line and pulled myself hastily toward the ship; though as soon as the fish was aware of me he made off like a Dutchman.* But he soon reappeared and this time in the company of a female. These two proceeded to couple in the ordinary manner, like human beings. I watched them

for a long while, and I noted, moreover, that one of them would sometimes lie on his back, or would lie on top of the other, and sometimes under the other, and that they sported together.

It is worthy of remark that the female has a proper *membrum* and breasts, at which two young can be suckled, and may often be seen swimming beside her. The male has a *membrum virile* four to five yards in length, and also *testiculos*, but these are situate internally. It is questionable whether *sperma ceti** really comes from the whale. However, I shall believe that it is so, unless some better explanation is offered to me, inasmuch as at the season when the whale pairs in the cold Arctic Ocean (since he cannot do so, on account of his size and heat, in the warmer western sea) the sea is absolutely covered with the oily semen which escapes from the fish. I have dried this substance in the sun, and even so it retains its tenacious and fatty character. It might, of course, be the case that *sperma ceti* is derived from a different fish and is otherwise prepared.

On another occasion, when the sun was in the position of midnight, there arose, not far from the ship, an alarming din, and I saw, accompanied by a terrific blowing and snorting, certain black, thick-bodied creatures, like great barrels, were approaching, turning over and over each other; like serpents writhing over the surface of the sea. They were of a great length, fully fifteen to eighteen yards, and very thick, being bigger round than a Merseburger tub. On the fore part of the head they bore snow-white twisted horns, of three, four or five yards in length. These, too, went rushing past the ship. The experienced members of the crew stated that they were sea-unicorns.

At a later date I saw more creatures of another sort, which had heads like those of swine, and emitted all sorts of noises when a storm was brewing.

We had some pleasant sport with a white bear who came alongside over the ice with two young ones, in search of the dead whale, or *kreng*, as it is called. She must have scented it from afar. And as she did not quite know what to be at

when she found herself confronted by the ship, she decided to get on deck. Her two young ones followed her on foot.

We watched her for a long time, how she tried to come aboard but could not quite manage it. She often growled meanwhile, and when one of us hit her on the nose with a boat-hook she became fierce and malicious.

Since she was very large, almost the bigness of a horse, and bore a beautiful white pelt, we thought it would be well worth our while to capture her, not to shoot her, so that there should be no hole in the pelt, as such are especially sought for.

The captain ordered eight sailors or boatmen to go down after the quarry with boat-hooks and a rope with a running noose. Immediately the bear confronted them like a man, on her two hind legs, while with her fore paws she struck the poles and boat-hooks away from her till they rattled together, and at the same time she kept on looking round for her youngsters, who kept constantly close behind her. The fight lasted a long time, until a boatman threw the noose over her head with the aid of a fork and began to strangle her. She tried to bite the line in two, but could not do so. Then she tried to run, but the men throttled her and gave her many violent blows on the head, so that she became quite stupefied. In the meantime the youngsters had run off.—The men dragged the bear, throttling her, until they reached the ship, where she was drawn up by a windlass and killed.

Some of the meat from the paws and hams, when roasted, tasted very good to me.*

The skins, however, of which we got others later, were packed in sacks with sawdust, as were the sealskins, and well trodden down. This the hunters were ordered to do when the weather was fine and they would otherwise have had nothing to do.

For all that, however, when they had fine weather the men used to play all manner of tricks on one another, and the commander himself often gave orders for such, so that the men should be kept on the move and in good spirits, for he had in this manner to take precautions against scurvy, which appears at sea as a result of the dense, salt air, the

cold, hard salted meat that has been kept too long, and soft drinking-water. Hence, when the men had put up some old sails for walls, we had an opportunity of seeing what the Dutch (who are a waggish people) could do, in the matter of all sorts of tales and pastimes, so that the captain, the mates and I used to laugh until it was almost a scandal.

In other respects the Dutch are extremely particular, cleanly and strict when at sea. If any one disobeys orders—if he is guilty of swearing, or fighting, or cutting or stabbing with the knife (as the Dutch sailors are wont to do)—or of failing to attend at prayers without urgent reason, a court-martial is at once held over him, and sentence is delivered and executed. Either he receives, before the mast, the number of blows awarded from the whole ship's crew, armed with hard rope's-ends, or he is flogged on the bare buttocks, or he is fined one or two months' pay, or he may even be thrown several times into the sea at the end of a rope.

No one may ease himself on board ship; it may be that he is very ill; he must nevertheless get up and make his way to the gunwale, with one hand holding on to his breeches and the other gripping a rope, even though the ship is rolling and pitching under full sail: a practice which at one time caused me the greatest anxiety, until I obtained permission from the captain to use the built-in privy in his cabin. Now and then, however, it drenched me most unpleasantly, so that I came out wet and filthy; since when the vessel suddenly flung its bows into the air and the stern plunged downwards the salt water spouted up through the hole; so that I had to make use of the privilege with caution.

I got on very well with the whale-hunters. The captain in particular was greatly attached to me and did nothing without consulting me. He gave me Rotterdam beer, wine, brandy and sweetmeats. They always took the greatest pleasure in listening to my conversation and often tried to imitate my way of speaking, but could not do so.

I had the cabin steward, who was his sister's son, on my side, in addition to the cook; which brought me many a good bite or drop of drink. In respect of the latter I became

so bold that when the captain's back was turned I would run to the cabin and pour out what I wanted.

Apart from this, there was against the mainmast a great tub, fixed some distance from the deck, containing water that was often stinking and full of little worms, for the general drinking. And on deck, in open crates was plenty of biscuit; which had to be broken and softened in water, otherwise no one could eat it, so hard and mouldy was it. On at least three days of the week we ate groats, pease, lentils and stockfish, boiled, and pickled beef, pork and mutton, with bacon and a great deal of butter.

When the men were at meals, if it was windy one of them had always to hold the mess-bowl, that is, a great wooden bowl. They all lay flat on deck, and everyone had to bring his wooden spoon; then they all ate with hand or spoon, and had little need of a knife. When the mess-bowl was nearly exhausted, and the man who was holding it because of the rolling of the ship saw that there was just enough for his portion, he cried "Stop! stop!"—at which they one and all gave over.

"Come without prayer, and you go without prayer!" In the evening the men were called to prayer, and everyone had to attend or be punished. It was the same in the morning. After this they were called to their meal. The reader, or the commander, or the master held prayers, and on Sundays and fast days the Gospel was read, together with a plain exposition of the same.

Now I have often privately reflected that it is pleasing to God that He should be praised and commended and His Holy Name called upon and glorified by human tongues, not only on earth but also on the wild waste seas, as is in truth done with such ardour and devotion as are hardly known upon the land; because at sea man's need of succour is often very great and all those upon the sea are at every moment threatened by death in the midst of so many perils. Even David has sung of it in the Psalms: "Lord God of Sabaoth, the heavens and the sea praise Thee and commend Thy goodness. Thou makest safe a path in the sea," and so forth.

A path in the sea! It is true; for the navigating officers and the steersmen, by means of their instruments, the height

of the sun and charts, the compass and the lead, know just where they are and whither they ought to go. I went into this with the helmsman and tried to learn the art, but it was too comprehensive and too difficult for me.

Moreover, I had more than enough to do already, what with tending the ship's crew, patching my clothes and washing my linen; doing, in short, what one must do for himself if he wishes to keep himself free from vermin, which are terribly numerous and are always running up the masts. Thus, one puts the dirty linen into a baler or tub and pours fresh water over it (for one can neither drink sea-water nor wash with it); the clothes are then rubbed with soap and the dirt is trodden out of them with bare feet; the clothes are then rinsed in sea-water and hung up on deck and quickly dried. For one would scarce believe how dense, salt and drying the sea-air is. This is why it makes one always hungry.

And in sober truth I have often pounded raw stockfish on the anchor and eaten it with the greatest appetite. But one thing that may have helped me was this: that on the advice of a good friend I had laid in some four gallons of French wine containing grated horse-radish, and of this I drank two glasses daily as a preventive of scurvy. I must in very truth ascribe it to this means, next to God, that I was preserved from scurvy. The others were all sick of it and could by no means be cured until in Spitzbergen, which without doubt lies at the extreme end of America under the North Pole, they obtained relief from the greenstuffs growing there.

On this account, and because our ships had so early been successful, and had obtained so rich a cargo, and because time was heaping up the monthly pay of the seamen, we made our way out of the ice, going southward, and on the way heard a terrible bellowing, like that of a calf, some two miles distant. Our men judged this to be a Nordkaper, a great fish. When we sailed up to it in the ship it was indeed a great fish, but of a shape very different from that of a whale. Our captain did not at first wish to take the trouble of turning aside for it as it is not of very great use. However, he allowed himself to be persuaded and put out the whale-boats; the fish was harpooned and the men sought to lance it. But the

fish defended itself in alarming fashion, several times opening its great mouth as though it meant to swallow us down. After a great deal of shouting and much trouble and exertion it was none the less killed.

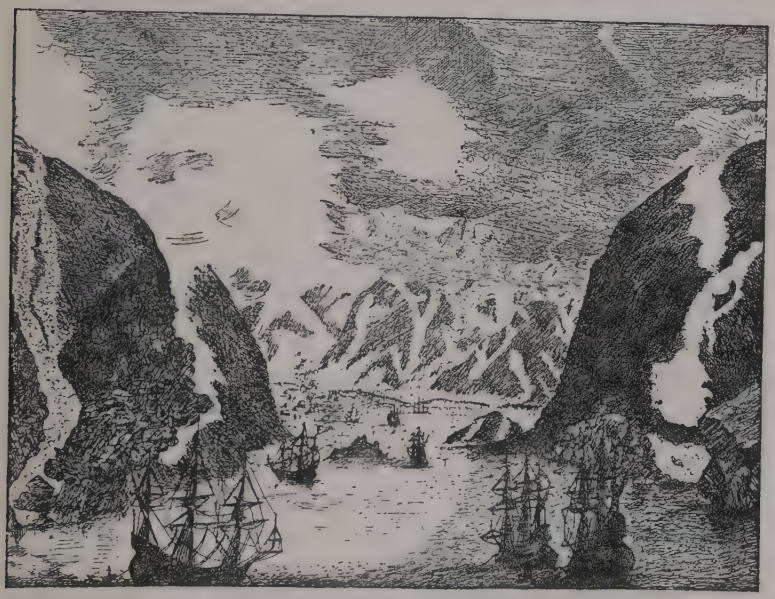
This fish was of little use, apart from a little blubber. But it was a singular thing that on his thick black hide were many hundreds, indeed thousands, of spiral, ivory-white snail-shells, so firmly and deeply fixed that they had to be dug out. They were bigger than any big snail-shell. I kept some of them for six to eight weeks. When I placed them in the sun a worm crept out, just like a snail, and drew itself in again. I believe these are a kind of sea-louse which fastens itself upon the fish's hide and grows there gradually, becoming more and more firmly fixed.

We now set our course toward Spitzbergen. On the way thither we saw a great white bear swimming in the sea a good hundred miles from land or ice We did not want so much roast meat to slip out of our hands, so the whale-boats were launched and rowed after the bear, who did his best to get away, but his pace was too slow for our speed. At first he tried to resist; he struck at the boats with his paws, endeavouring to crush them, but they rapped him on the knuckles; at last the noose was cast over his head, and then, willy-nilly, he had to submit to being towed by all three whale-boats to the ship; there he got so many blows from stretchers that he could not mistake the way he was to go! The crew sang a little song in his honour.

When they had brought the bear to the ship he was hauled up in such a fashion with the noose round his neck that he must necessarily have been strangled with his heavy body.

But when he had been heaved up over the gunwale of the ship and had for some time been lying for dead, he suddenly got on his feet again and—made a dash for the crew! You should have seen how all the seamen raced up into the shrouds—that is, into the rope ladders of the mainmast (I myself was also compelled to withdraw)—until the commander came out of his cabin with a flint-lock and shot the beast through the head. Then the play was over, the bear killed, his fine white dress removed and he himself eaten.

One day the look-out called from the big crow's-nest: "Land ahead! Land!" Everybody was cheered by this; the anchor was got ready, and in the midst of a storm we ran between the cliffs into the Waigat.* We dropped anchor and launched the whale-boats: and the first thing to be done was to land our sick, a certain number of whom were suffering from an affection of the mouth like that which attacks calves; but they ate a sort of cabbage, which was pulled out of the ground, almost like spoon-cabbage, and in three days all were well.



A HARBOUR IN SPITZBERGEN.

From Friedrich Martens' "Spitzbergische oder Groenlandische Reise-Beschreibung" (Hamburg, 1675).

We had run short of fresh water, so that we looked for streams and found one that consisted of melted snow-water, which poured in abundance from the higher rocks, falling with a great roar and making a big river.

I saw with astonishment what indescribable crowds of all sorts of birds—wild geese, ducks, pheasants, parrots,** kingfishers and hundreds more—inhabited the cliffs, pro-

montories and lesser islands. Our men, hunting, for amusement, among these lesser islands, collected their eggs and ate them. However, they first of all tested them in water, to see whether they sank or floated. We ate these eggs every day, boiled, pickled or beaten up with butter. We also shot a great number of geese, ducks and other edible birds.

Each of us, including myself, was given a flint-lock, powder and shot. The captain himself had loaded my piece, and, probably as a foolish jest rather than with any thought of mischief, had put a double charge into it, which presently was very near bringing me to a miserable death. I had clambered up a high cliff close to the sea in order to get nearer to the birds, and I had, beneath my feet, barely space for a foothold. Beneath me was the sea, a tremendous depth below me. I fired at a flock of birds, but my fowling-piece gave me such a blow on the head that I was actually falling, when luckily my hands got a grip of the rocks about me; but for which I must inevitably have fallen from the cliff into the sea, and have broken most of my bones; as happened to my flint-lock, which fell from the rocks and was shattered into a thousand pieces. For me, I thanked God for his merciful succour and climbed down from the rocks. I had no desire to go out shooting birds any more.

A few of our men came and informed us that walruses had been seen on the beach and the rocks. The captain was rejoiced at this and at once set out with four boats' crews armed with flint-locks and axes. I too was included, to bandage anyone should he be wounded by the creature's tusks, as is apt to happen.

We came to the place, and three terrible creatures were there, lying together. They had heads like oxen but of quite three times the size, hideous eyes, a beard, and on either side a great long, white tusk, resembling the finest ivory, which would, as I judged, have weighed three or four pounds. The body was bulky, thick-set, black and powerful, like the largest size of beer-barrel. The fore part is provided with two great flappers with which he swims when in the water, but on land he uses them to slide his body along. Behind he is provided with a tail, like that of a seal.*

As soon as they saw us they turned round and began to hump themselves along to the sea. But our men were on to them at once, striking at them on the nape of the neck—which they cannot endure—with heavy clubs and crowbars, quite unafraid of their bellowing and roaring. At last, however, they were shot through the head, so that none of them got away. They were skinned at once, the blubber and tusks being cut out and taken to the ship.

Then we went reindeer-hunting. Twenty-two men of our ship's crew were provided with flint-locks, balls and powder. The rest had to remain on board with orders that if we should lose ourselves inland they were to give us a signal by firing a cannon.

We took with us a compass and provisions, brandy, etc., and went far inland until we came to a meadow-like pasture where the herb of which I have already spoken grew like grass beside a stream that was fed with the snow-water tumbling downwards among the rocks.

And here were quite two hundred animals of the bigness of an ass, grey in colour, with long matted hair, and ears like those of an ass; their eyes were deep-set, with long hair falling over them; their hooves were cleft like those of a stag or a reindeer (of which more hereafter), and they were without a tail, having merely a stump, nor had they antlers like those of the reindeer.

They kept close together, grazing. The captain bade us all draw off and get to the leeward of the herd and also to turn our caps inside out. Then, with loaded muskets, we had to creep down upon them from all sides; but no one was to shoot until he had fired. I crept behind a rock with my flint-lock, and the grey, grizzled creatures came so close to me that they snuffed and snorted down my neck. But they would not by any means run away from us, until the commander at last took aim and sought to fire. But as his flint-lock missed fire at least three times I decided to wait no longer and fired into the herd with ball and with slugs. Thereupon one fell to the ground immediately; but another, struck in the right leg, close to the haunch, was limping about in consequence. But they did not run away or show signs of

fear. And now the firing began from this point and that, until perhaps eight or nine head had fallen. The captain wanted to cut them up, yet he was furiously angry when he saw me run out and seize the lame beast, which was still limping about quite close to me, by the neck, and cut its throat with my big Dutch knife; for then the herd took fright and quickly ran off.

The captain cursed me heartily because I had spoilt all his plans; if I had not done so he might have bagged the whole herd! But at this I laughed, asking him what he purposed to do with so many? He, however, replied that their flesh was the most delicate game; that it could be salted in barrels and the skins sold at a good price.—Well, he had to be content with what remained. Four at a time, they were packed on lance-staves and boat-hooks and carried to the ship. The captain's orders to the men were to come back again. The captain and I were left behind and set off in search of further game; but we did not find any more. And as it was always daylight we penetrated the interior to the depth of three days' march, but found nothing save waste lands; not a sapling, not a blade of herbage was to be seen except the oft-mentioned Iceland moss, on which the wild animals and birds feed and grow fat.

I was all but unconscious with fatigue, so far had we gone; and the contents of our wallets were all we had, with brandy and tobacco; for which reason I often lay down beside my flint-lock; but not so the captain, for he was a younger, stronger man and inured to hardships.

When he saw, on the other side of the river, at a spot where we might wade through the stream, a great bear, he wanted to cross at once and shoot the creature; and I was to accompany him. It was all I could do to restrain and admonish him, while I pointed out the fact that I was not a good shot, and he might miss, which would cost us both our lives.—At last he gave in and accompanied me higher up the hill in order to get a glimpse of the sea.

But I could go no farther, from fatigue, and kept on tumbling down. At this he filled his hat with water which sprang from the mountain-side, and sprinkled me with it, and wanted me to drink some of it. But I was in the case

of the journeyman tailor who cried, "Master, give me bread, bread!"—for I was quite faint with hunger.

As I lay there on the mountain-side and he could not get me any farther, he hurried up the hill and fired his musket, as a signal to the rest, who soon returned with food.

We sat down and ate and drank, being now well off. As for me, I felt so much better that I was able to walk back to the ship. As for the venison, it was roasted and stewed as long as it lasted, and to us it tasted mighty good.

Besides this we caught some fine fish on the hook and line; sometimes too we were able to spear flounders or plaice with a three-pronged fork; sometimes, again, at the ebb-tide, when the sea itself had receded a good half mile, one was able further to go out a long way to sea, looking for mussels and crabs. On the other hand, when the flood-tide, seven hours later, came, as it were, rolling in, the ship righted herself again, though at low tide she lay on her side in the sand.

After the lapse of some little time we hauled up our anchor and put to sea again, most of the time close inshore. As it was fine, bright weather, we were able to see far inland over the low-lying country. We saw nothing, however, save now and again white hares and foxes, and a great number of birds. Amongst others there was one—much larger than a big turkey-cock—which frequented the beach and was quite fleecy, like a sheep, and when in the water constantly shrieked in the most dreadful fashion. I was informed that the feathers of this bird (whose name I was told also) were extremely valuable and had to be presented to the king.

We discovered, far inland, certain mountains which, when the sun shone on them, flashed and glittered like refined gold and silver.

I pressed the captain urgently to allow us to go thither and see what was there. I told him, in this connection, how I had heard in Copenhagen that the king had fitted out certain ships to explore the northern lands, and one of these had come upon a similar silver mountain in these latitudes and had taken on board a full cargo of the same and brought

it to Copenhagen. It was concluded that it was merely silver sand.* But when the king had it assayed nothing could be done with it; so that the captain of the ship was laughed at and derided. This he took to heart so that he threw himself into the sea; as for his fellow shipmasters, they were by then all scattered. Some time after this an experienced alchemist obtained possession of what was left of the stuff and made the most beautiful silver from it. Whereupon the king made inquiry: whether there was still a ship's captain or a seaman to be found who knew of the spot? But none such could be found. Other ships were sent forth at great expense, but nothing of the sort had ever been found again.

But all persuasion was in vain; the captain would not put inshore because there were very dangerous rocks hereabouts and also a whirlpool, which at certain hours violently sucks down the sea and anything that approaches it too closely. There are many similar whirlpools in these seas. I suppose they are caused by the ebb and flow of the tide.

We did indeed put ashore, in order to provide ourselves with fresh water for the homeward voyage, since there were springs there.—This was the very place where the Dutch had at various times attempted to remain through the winter, and one could still see the *rudera* of their buildings, walls and foundations; but they were never able to lay claim to the land, since they all died in a most pitiful fashion, terribly plagued by spectres, ghosts and bears, and at last they became all twisted and doubled up with scurvy, and were found dead. It is not possible that human beings should live there in winter, on account of the great cold, the snow and the darkness, which closes down at the end of September and lasts until mid-April.

But it is better down south and in the west, and also in West India, which may rightly be called the true Greenland. There dwell folks who are wild and very small; they live by fishing and hunting; they have their dwelling in the ground; and they eat dead whales, when, as described above, such are killed by the swordfish and driven ashore; they eat and drink blubber and train-oil. And this Green-

land is joined on to America, as I believe Spitzbergen to be; the greater part of it is unknown, as it is high up toward the North Pole, and no one can get through the ice because of the great cold and the darkness.

We made ready for sea, after we had done a moderate amount of fishing there and had thoroughly rested ourselves.

Grönländische Wilden.

A GREENLAND HUNTER.

From Heinrich Siber's "Bericht von Gröhnland" (Hamburg, 1674).

We put to sea, with a south-west wind, intending to sail to the North Cape. But the wind grew too violent for us, and contrary, so that in spite of tacking in all imaginable directions, we were driven out of our course to Iceland. This was, as I say, quite out of our course, but we were compelled

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by the wind and weather to run into a bay on the Iceland coast.

As soon as we had dropped anchor the little people came off to the ship in canoes (the canoe is a small boat made of the bark of trees sewed together with the sinews of animals; in some of them only a single person can sit, and he can carry it wherever he wishes). They brought us milk and fresh fish and the like; their behaviour was generous and friendly.

Our interpreter had a long talk with them when we landed, about the state of the country, and the burning mountain, which rises amidst a number of other mountains in the midst of this great island, as may be seen from afar. But at this time it was not burning;* it burned only at certain times, when the Devil brought souls thither. For they maintain with absolute certainty that Hell is there; and they assured us that horrible howls and voices were often to be heard there.

These little people, however, are very superstitious; they recognize God the Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and they even have their priests, but are very idolatrous and make anything into an idol.—We dealt with them, trading with them for large quantities of dried fish, salmon and the like; but they would not accept gold. What they wanted was all sorts of buckles, looking-glasses, belts, linen goods, old clothes and so forth.

As the wind was favourable we put to sea, still sailing north-east, and within a week we saw land on our right: the North Cape. And although we already had a valuable cargo on board, the commander was still anxious to do some trading for himself, especially as there was still time, and he was anxious to pay the ship's company, which consisted mostly of his friends, kinsmen, neighbours and so forth, the full amount of their monthly pay.

For this reason we went still farther and into the White Sea, and even to Novaya Zembla, where we were once more driven before the wind, against our will. Meanwhile, men were sent ashore, the commander himself accompanying them and making thorough inquiries, for no vessel dared to put inshore to trade with the people; all had to be done by stealth, as the Tzar forbade all trade under pain of death,

and maintained certain officers on this coast. But trading took place ; and we obtained from the natives some beautiful sables and great store of other skins.

I marvelled at the folk hereabouts ; they were very small, and their heads were sunk between their shoulders ; they carried bows and quivers of arrows, and high boots of reindeer leather ; *item*, all their clothing, from caps to stockings, is of reindeer skin ; they smoke out of doors, and I could see no difference between the men and the women, for they all dressed alike, except that the women wore belts round their bodies, to which were affixed a number of trinkets, such as rings, bracelets, ear-rings and the like, whereas the men, as a general rule, in addition to their arrows and quivers, had an arrow stuck in the belt. They travel with reindeer, which are in shape like stags, and are off like a flash of lightning, three or four being harnessed to a sledge. They are quite tame, and their owners make butter and cheese from their milk as we do from cows' milk. Their houses are mostly underground, but some are built in the woods, on sledges. When inland they are now here, now there ; they have no village communities, but live a wandering life ; wherefore they give little heed to the authorities, but evade them. In the meanwhile we gave them brandy and tobacco from our small store, which to them were highly acceptable. In return they brought us reindeer milk and cheese, dried fish and smoked eel and salmon, a considerable quantity of furs, and some whalebone and other matters ; so that our commander was well provided, while we too did a good deal of trading.

So now we took our departure on our homeward voyage and encountered our two consorts, Wilhelm Bastiaensz's vessels, in harbour at the North Cape. They had been waiting for us for a long time and there were now great rejoicings.

We enjoyed one another's hospitality several times, and then all three set sail out of the harbour, making always for the south-west.

My commander's brother fell ill. I was on several occasions sent in the whale-boat to attend on him. He soon recovered. He was an old, seasoned and experienced seaman, whom we used to call our Rear-Admiral.

We reached the latitude of Denmark and found ourselves off the island of Jutland, where the herring are caught; as I have often seen. For about this time the herring spawn, many thousands of casks altogether, right on the surface of the sea, sometimes leaping over one another, looking, when there is a flash of sunlight, like summer lightning. And here are the herring fishers, whose boats, two, three, or four in number, extend their nets so far that all are fully laden. They then make for harbour, gut the fish, salt them, and pack them in casks. These are then dispatched to Holland.

Salt, too, is made on this island; there are many salt springs in the North Sea, as indeed there are throughout the ocean. The inhabitants make note of these and dig great tanks or reservoirs near the sea; then, when the tide is making, the sea-water flows into them; when it ebbs the dam is closed, and the salt water is left standing until the salt is deposited. Of tanks of this nature they have a great number. Some saltpanners, however, heat the brine, sometimes using peat for this purpose, as in Holstein, England and Denmark, where there is not much wood and it is very dear.

We had a stiff south-westerly wind. And over against us lay a great French vessel; and at that time France was at war with Holland. The look-out at the masthead saw her while she was as yet at a distance and shouted: "A foreign sail, a foreign sail!"

Then came everyone on deck and saw it also; and the spy-glass or perspective glass showed that she was French. At first she hoisted the Danish colours, the more surely to entice us, for she lay before the wind and could not get at us.—The captain exclaimed at once: "That's an enemy ship, a cunning pirate, a Jean Barth*!"—he being at that time famed as a pirate.—He had astern of him a ship all over gold, which glittered dazzlingly in the sun, and a good three to four hundred men, with thirty or more cannon, on the frigate.

Our consorts or comrades had likewise smelt a rat and interchanged signals, and now took up their stations in a

half-moon formation, continually tacking, since we did not wish to pass to the farther side of the enemy. Meanwhile all our men were served with muskets and side-arms. The gunners ran out their guns, heavily charged. Around the deck timbers were fixed to the bulwarks, lashed into place with tough, tarry rope, as a breastwork. *In summa:* all was ready for the battle.

I was obliged to retire to one of the holds, below the decks, in the powder-magazine; because—so said the commander—the gunners would be in the greatest need of bandaging. However, I was not able to stay there very long, as it seemed to me too dangerous, and the men kept running to and fro with powder and slow-matches.

When the Frenchman saw that in spite of all his pains he could not get to close quarters with us, and that we had no desire whatever to get at him, he fired several shots at us and ran up the French colours. He fired again and struck our mizzenmast, so that all came crashing down as though struck by a thunderbolt. We gave him nothing in return; for we, with our iron guns, could not carry so far.

The whole day went by, and we were still engaged with him thus, until it began to grow dark. Then our leader sent up a rocket, and set a burning lantern at his stern, sailing with the north wind full on his beam. We followed in his wake, and in the darkness we soon got away from the enemy. As may be supposed, if he could have got to close quarters with us he would have overpowered us and taken all we had!—As we afterwards learned, in Holland, was the fate of those who followed us.

In the meantime the wind had become so powerful, and the storm so violent that the waves kept on leaping sky-high, and the sea before the ship burned as though it had been very fire and flame, as it used to look at night by reason of the particles of salt. We were forced in the end to shorten sail, for the ship was continually driven nearer to the cliffs that lay to the north of us, so that every moment we thought to suffer shipwreck, when all must have been drowned, since the cliffs in those parts rise to a very great height from deep water, and there is no beach, as we saw with our own eyes.

We commended ourselves to God, and set to work with all our might to escape from the cliffs and crags, which I actually saw close to the vessel when the sea abated. The terrible wind hurled the oncoming waves against the rocks with such violence that they burst, flinging their spray in all directions to a distance of fifteen to twenty yards, like sparks from a forge.

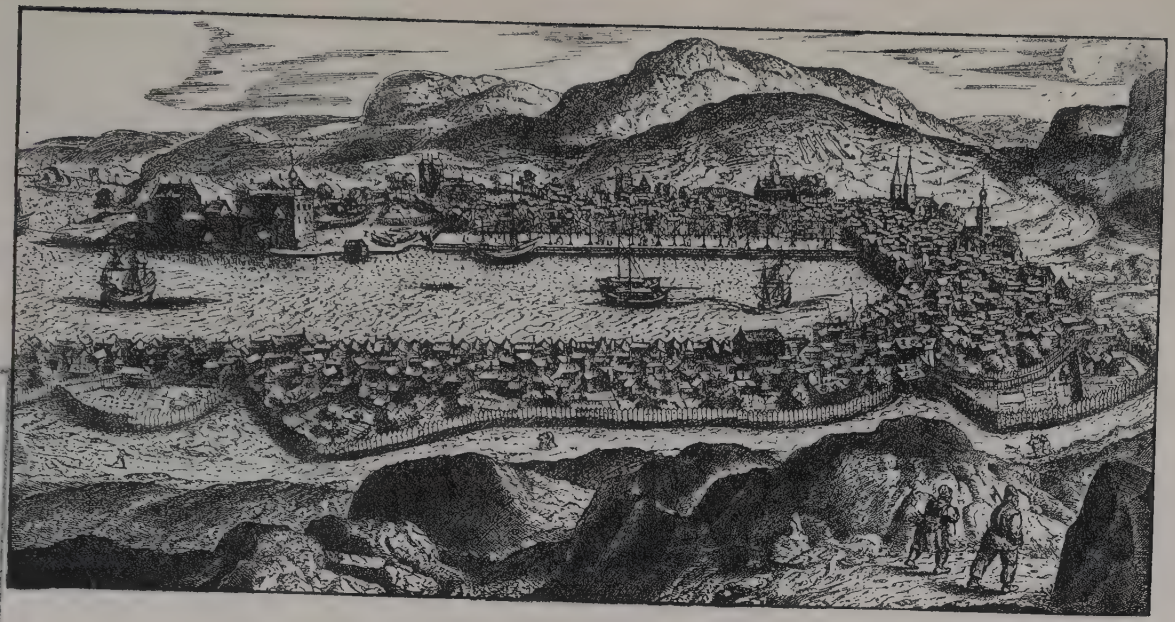
Our consorts were in no better case; and we were no longer together, for the storm had scattered us. We were all half dead of privation; and there were times when we cried "Breakers ahead!" at every moment, for the ship was like to run upon the rocks.

I saw with terror something large and of a moss-green colour, like a hill or a piece of land, which continually floated beside our vessel, no matter how we might alter our course. To this day I do not know what it was. Others who saw it knew no more than I. Several were of opinion that it was a drifting piece of land. Others took it to be a phantom or sea-ghost.

At last the good God came to our aid, inasmuch as the wind and waves drove us into an inlet cleft amidst the rocks, where we were sheltered from the wind. There we dropped an anchor, but it was torn from its hold like a feather. The force of the waves drove us still farther in. Then we let drop the second anchor, but this too was torn from its hold in a moment. A great shout went up from the ship, and it seemed every instant that she must strike a rock and founder. Nevertheless, we flung our sheet anchor into the sea; this held, so that the masts and yards of the vessel quivered. We also threw out large grapnels on either side, and the ship lay still.—We gathered together for prayer, thanked God, and praised Him with all our hearts Who had so mercifully upheld us.

When the sea became calm again we weighed our other anchor and fired one of our guns for a signal as to our whereabouts, and all three of our vessels came together again after the dangers which they had encountered. This was not far to the north of Bergen in Norway.

We refitted and repaired our ship, as she was leaking badly after the violent storm, and passed the time in fishing



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BERGEN, NORWAY.

From "Tooneel der vermaarste Koopsteden en Handelplaatsen" (published Amsterdam, 1682, by Johann Janssonius).

and in shooting wild ducks and geese. I have never in my life seen a greater number of fish than in the fjord. Great shoals of fish which were almost like solid masses were swimming to and fro. In particular there were numbers of sharks, of whose skin rough knife-handles and the scabbards of swords are made. These sharks were some twelve to fifteen feet in length,—black, and shaped almost like a carp, except for the upturned snout. This fish is extremely rapacious, and eats everything it comes across, but never any of the fish which constantly accompany it, and continually swim around it in great numbers, as I have seen from the ship with my own eyes. It is quite capable of biting off an arm or a foot, so sharp are its teeth.

Our commander once more bought a great quantity of stockfish, which are caught there in great abundance and dried on lines in the open air and then traded to us. The warehouses there are full of them, just as ours are full of grain.

All three of our vessels having been made seaworthy, we continued our homeward voyage, weighing anchor in middling weather We still hugged the Norwegian coast, although there are along this coast alarming numbers of little islands. We saw many seals lying on the sand in the sun, basking and playing together. Four whale-boats put ashore, full of men, who killed a good hundred and fifty seals, which were all brought off to the ship where the carcases were skinned, and the fat removed; this fat is known as Bergen train-oil, and is better than any other. While the men were busy with the seals, I gladly remained on board. The seals were piled up in heaps, and some came to life again, crawling about or rolling over, snapping at one another like dogs, yelping and growling. I did not know what to be at and was forced to withdraw until the men came on board again and killed them outright, and cleaned up.—They are about as large as a big calf, and have a harmless appearance; the skin is mottled, the head round, the eyes bright, and the ears very short and small. Their fore-limbs are two flippers, with which they steer or swim, or push themselves forward. The hinder part of the body tapers like the tail-end of a fish, blunt and pointed at the same time.

HAMBURG, 1696.

From Wolffgang Heinrich Adelungk's "Kurtze historische Beschreibung der Stadt Hamburg" (1696).

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We sailed past Jutland and put out to sea in the direction of England, and then, passing the Texel, came to Rotterdam, where our owners already had news of us, and they welcomed us with wine and brandy; *item*, with beer. We were indeed well feasted, so that there were several of us thoroughly drunken. We spent still one night more on board ship. On the following day we received our monthly pay, and I was given in addition, for every whale caught, a thaler of our money.

I was informed that if I wished to sail with them again the following year I must repair thither or to the before-mentioned wine-cellar in Hamburg. And this I promised to do. I got my things together and accompanied some of our men to a tavern where the greater number of them lodged.

At first I wanted to go with them to Spain, but as all was at sixes and sevens just then I thought twice about the matter; the cost of living was so high that I decided to return to Hamburg by water, which I did the following day. I lodged once more with my old landlord, who kept a beer-cellar in the city. He was delighted to see me again, and made much of me. All was just as it used to be, and I earned there more than I spent, which was precisely my intention.

In the spring of the year my commander returned, with his brothers as usual, and was rejoiced to find that I was still there. He at once sent for some wine, and again appointed me to his ship. Moreover, I had to find masters* for the other two ships. My vessel, the *Hoffnung* (the "Hope") had been quite newly repaired and freshly painted, and was riding at anchor in the roadstead before the city.

When we had fitted out and obtained a sufficient crew, we went aboard, on the 15th May, and sailed down the Elbe past the wharves and the prosperous towns, where we had to shorten sail, and three times fired our cannon.

No sooner were we out of the Elbe than we ran into storms and contrary winds. For this reason we had to spend two days lying up in Ritzebüttel, for there are many sand-banks in the Elbe, with floating barrels attached to chains, by which the pilots are able to set their course, for the

pilot alone steers the vessel, at his own risk, for which he receives a fixed sum. There was here a look-out, and a fire-tower had been erected so that vessels out at sea could correct their position, so that they should not run aground. At night the tower was lit with beacon-fires of burning pitch.

When the wind had abated itself we once more put to sea. Just at first I suffered a good deal in the flesh. But as I went to sea fasting and, as the custom was, took only a sup of salt water, which causes one to vomit immediately, it was soon all over.

We sailed for a full six weeks before we could make our way into the ice-floes, for they were frozen fast, and everything was covered with ice. For a long time we sailed to and fro, but could neither see nor hear any whales. At last we found a wide opening, which we entered, and pushed ahead with our vessel. There, in the space of three weeks, we killed five whales and found one dead, surrounded by a terrible stench, many icebergs, northern birds and bears.

Our commander, who was a self-willed and avaricious man, wanted to kill still more, and was not contented. For this reason we sailed further and further into the ice, although on several occasions he was advised against such a course; but to no avail, for he merely went on drinking wine and brandy, as did our cooper likewise. This was our chief cooper—for we had two—a German, but he had followed the sea for fully thirty years, and was in other ways a useful man, who was responsible for the state of the ship, and indeed for our lives: as will be seen.

The cooper fell sick; he was very sick, but for a long time would take no medicine and must inevitably have died,* as did the carpenter. At last I bethought myself, and asked him whether he had no more brandy? He drew a deep sigh, and answered "No."—"Ha," said I, "now I know what your illness is." I went out and brought him a small glass of my own brandy, which he drank with great eagerness. The commander asked me why I could not help the cooper?—I told him that his brandy was finished and his brandy was his sickness.—"Well," he said, "if that is what is wanted I will give you a flask so that you can dose him with it, but he must not drink it all down at once; for I

have need of it." This was done, and my cooper was soon well again! By this one may see what habit will do.

Although the carpenter must have known of the same treatment, he died on board ship of a wasting illness and was long bed-ridden. I saw him many times and warned him of his approaching death and admonished him to pray diligently; as did the commander and others likewise. But he would not hear of this, as he was an atheist, which was the reason why he had never come to prayers. He lived like a beast, he died like a beast, and was buried like a beast; for he lay dead in his berth before anyone was aware of his death. There was very little ado made about the matter; we carried him upon deck, bound him to a plank, and four or more men seizing it, they sang: "Hory sond, Hory sond, Hory see,"—and therewith pushed him overboard into the sea, whereupon he floated in the wake of the ship. Whether the bears ate him, or the seals, I know not; but his ghost was repeatedly seen on board the vessel. This is a matter that I shall not discuss.

Quite unexpectedly the ship and the ice wherein we lay were drawn into an ocean current which took us always nearer and nearer to the North Pole; to the extremest north, or as the helmsman put it, to the ninetieth degree.

Before we realized what was happening the air had become quite dense and dark; so that it seemed as though one could take hold of it. All about us everything was frozen, so that for many miles no one could have drawn a drop of water from the sea. We saw no sun, no moon, no stars; and there was not a breath of wind stirring.

This lasted four whole weeks. We gazed at one another with dismal looks. The commander, who was responsible for this misfortune, had ceased to show himself; he was afraid lest the men would put him overboard.—One man deplored his wife, another his children, and I my judgment and foresight, in that I had not refused to take part in this second voyage. What misery! *In summa:* none of us could see any chance of salvation, but believed that we should all die of cold and starvation.

I believe that until that time no ship had ever come so

close to the North Pole. The crew already looked half dead, were quite confused, and were always dropping with sleep. Moreover, they were suffering severely from scurvy. Stock was taken of our provisions, and they were divided into

SHIPS IN THE ICE.

From C. G. Zorgdrager's "Grönländische Fischerei" (Leipzig, 1723).

portions, to be rationed as long as they held out. The time for the homeward journey was already past. Almighty God! what lamentations and complaints! And there was non

but God to give help or counsel, so upon Him we called and to Him we fervently prayed.

As one day I was walking to and fro upon the deck, beside the helmsman, sunk in such dismal thoughts, while we deplored our situation, mingling our sighs and prayers, the helmsman gazed up into the sky by the ship's pennant, and said: "If the dear Lord would give us a wind, then, God willing, it might help us!"—It may well be that my judgment had grown infirm, but it did indeed blow with greater and greater violence; and there was a crash and a roar from the ice as though many heavy guns had been fired, and now, lo and behold! the ice about our vessel broke up and left an opening; at first some three or four fathoms wide, but its width continued to increase until a great open space lay before us. Then cried the helmsman: "All hands on deck!"

Thereupon the crew came on deck as though from sleep, gazed at once into the sky, looking for the wind, and shouted: "God be thanked and praised! The good God will help us!"—And at once they set about their work. Hearing all the shouting and running to and fro, the commander too came on deck, crying "Hey! Set all sail!"—but the helmsman rejoined: "Not by any means! We are not yet clear of the ice; and we shall be fortunate if we do not wreck the vessel on an iceberg!" None the less, the commander's order was to set all sail.

The opening became still wider, and the ship, now that she was freed from the ice, was sailing faster and faster. All rejoiced that we had escaped from this labyrinth. And on this account we met in prayer and thanked God; and the crew were served with food and brandy. I was standing just in front of the galley and smoking tobacco in a long pipe, when the ship, in a fog which had suddenly come down upon us, ran her bows against a sharp-pointed iceberg, and a hole was made in the hull as big as a Merseburg beer-barrel, so that the masts and yards were shaken to and fro, and I fell on my back with my tobacco-pipe in my mouth. At once I could hear the water rushing into the ship. And now it was: "Lord have mercy upon us! Lord have mercy upon us! Now the ship and all is lost!"—Everybody got together what he valued and climbed over the side into the whale-

boats; for the ship was already beginning to sink. Here again was a calamity!

"Almighty God!" I thought to myself, "help me out of this, only help me out of this, and never in my life will I come here again!" With this I fetched my purse, with two shirts, my books, and a few biscuits and climbed over the side.

Then came the cooper (of whom I have already related how I cured him with brandy) and shouted loudly: "Men! when you were at home in Holland you took an oath never to desert the ship! Stop, and give me a light in the hold, so that I can see whether the vessel can still be saved!"— At this the men clambered back into the ship and gave him a light. He went below with it and soon came back saying: "All's well! the ship can be saved!"

And now they moved the heavy articles and cargo to the sound side of the vessel, took in all sail, and moored the ship, with a great grapnel, to an iceberg; they set going two pumps, at which sixteen men had to work day and night, until the hole in the ship's side rose above the water, and by God's mercy we were saved.

Meanwhile the commander had locked himself in his cabin, for he feared the crew; since it was he who, despite all warning, was guilty of the calamity. Moreover, as I afterwards heard him say, if the ship had not been saved he had determined to blow it to pieces. Through his cousin, the steward, in order to placate the men, he sent the latter beer and French brandy and wine and what not, enough of all to go round. At last he himself appeared and offered all manner of excuses.

The carpenter's and bos'n's mates* had to repair the hole with planks, oakum and tar. This took them three days, and then we set our course across the open sea.

But we were still in great danger, inasmuch as the ice-floes which lay upon our quarter were hurled so violently against the ship by the wind and the waves that the splinters flew as though from a carpenter's adze. Here the crew had to keep a sharp look-out with their ice-hooks. I myself helped as well as I could. At last we got away into the open sea and thanked God by assembling together in prayer and

singing hymns, for that the good God had brought us forth out of danger.

By the great fear and anxiety and emotion which we had been through my bowels were so affected that I was in terrible pain and did not know what I had best do. I tried everything wherewith I had at other times treated others for worms; but nothing did any good until the commander came to me and asked me: "Master surgeon, what ails you?"—I told him.—"What, you are a doctor, and cannot help yourself? You should apply dung." (*N.B.*—He had known the same trouble at sea before.)—I did as he advised, and from that moment the pains were less severe and I began to recover.

We now set our course south-west, and in six days' time we came in sight of the Norwegian coast. On the way thither the weather was fine and the wind moderate. And many seals had found harbour there; many were still swimming in the sea, which, as regards their heads, looked just like so many urchins bathing. Our men killed a good number of these seals and brought them on deck.

When we reached those islands that lie in the extremest north, we ran into an excellently situated harbour, where no fewer than seventy-five vessels lay with two convoyers, which had long been expecting us. And since they had believed us to be lost, their joy was all the greater when they saw us. They welcomed us from every ship, saluting us with three guns and welcoming us with drums and trumpets. The vessels of our own company were likewise there.

In order to get a good view of everything, and it really looked magnificent, with the flying flags and pennants and streamers, I ensconced myself in one of the vessel's whale-boats, which was hanging on the stern quarter, and under which a six-pounder gun was about to be fired.

Now, as we were thanking them all for their welcome, and the captain gave orders that the gun in the bows should be fired, some wicked idiot ran astern with a slow-match, to where I was sitting in the whale-boat—he may possibly

have meant it as a joke—and fired the gun. But as the whale-boat was not hoisted high enough above the gun, the tackle was torn from its hold by the force of the explosion, and I found myself in the sea, whale-boat and all. I myself knew nothing of what had happened to me; albeit I had a pain in my head as though it had been run through with a sword.

The others saw the accident, and immediately came to my rescue, pulling me out of the water half dead and laying me in my hammock.—I found that my hearing had gone; by which I was greatly cast down.

I tried all manner of remedies, but nothing did any good. This state of affairs continued fully a fortnight, before I came to a decision and sent for a German physician from one of the other ships, who opened a vein in my arm and must have relieved me of a great deal of blood. It was as though a fleece had been drawn away from my ears, and I found that my hearing had returned.—May the Lord be praised therefore!

The ship lay there four weeks, waiting for still others to arrive; since there was war and it was unsafe upon the seas, so that we were obliged to make part of a convoy.

In the meanwhile, to pass the time we often landed in order to visit the island Lapps. These little people, who were Lapps with some Finnish blood, were small in person, and were clad in reindeer hide. The men wore caps, and had very short white or grey beards; the women also wore caps like those of the men, but two plaits of hair hung upon their shoulders behind, and all spoke in a chattering, quacking voice, like so many ducks. They brought us milk, butter and cheese, and also fresh fish—cod, eels, salmon, and so forth, *item* fresh flounders and plaice. They were very friendly to us and obliged us in every way imaginable. They would stand still and look at us and raise their hands, especially the women.

I often visited their priest, who had three daughters, and had even hinted through the interpreter that I should stay with them and marry one of the daughters. They would sit beside me in the most extraordinarily friendly manner, stroking my cheeks and bringing me any food they

had, especially a sort of cake or bread, which is made of dried fish ground between two stones with milk and some other ingredient and is baked upon hot stones ; it tastes very good at first, but one soon turns against it. They had abundance of milk and fresh-killed venison, *item* smoked meat. Since the terrestrial night begins *in Septembri*, and the sun is eventually visible for only one or two hours daily, excepting which it is always night, they begin to collect fat and the livers of their fish and the blubber of whales and seals. This they burn instead of oil or candles. The priest praised his country up to the skies, as though no better existed. And everybody had his own coffin in the church.

He also had a little church, built of wood, as with us, and *sans comparaison* the greatest pigsty imaginable. There they used to meet together and pray on their faces, after the priest, standing before a table, had preached to them in their own tongue. Formerly they were very devout, and, so they say, have been only recently converted to the Christian faith, previous to which they had been absolute heathens, and greatly addicted to witchcraft, so that it used to be said of them that they could if they chose make the wind blow. As I then saw with my own eyes, they are able to sail dead against the wind, in their canoes (in which they sit and fish with a long line of bast, furnished with hooks, pulling up six to eight fish of moderate bigness, but before they take them off the hook they kill them with a wooden mallet which is tied to the canoe, while they tow another line behind them). It is in this way that all the cod are caught which are turned into stockfish, being dried upon cords of bast ; and there are great store-houses full, which pay toll to the bailiff and the governor ; and the same of all manner of furs and skins and whole barrels full of red and black berries, preserved or pickled, of which this island produces amazing quantities—and indeed they are most strengthening and refreshing—from which we derived great benefit.

Here, too, is great abundance of all kinds of wild fowl : pheasants, partridges, wild doves and the like, which we used to shoot and eat. The red berry is like a strawberry ; but it is much larger, and grows in great plenty upon a bush some three feet in height.

One day when I had climbed the hilly ground by the sea quite alone, in order to obtain some of these berries and to shoot wild fowl, I was scarcely able to defend myself with my stick against the great birds that surrounded me as I was gathering the berries ; for they kept on making for my head and crying loudly. No doubt they had young or eggs, and did not wish me to linger thereabouts.

When I had eaten my fill and had climbed a little higher on the cliffs overlooking the sea, it seemed to me that the cliffs were disappearing in the low-lying clouds. It was fine bright weather, yet I became quite wet, and there was, as it were, a fog around me and beneath me ; but it soon cleared off again. I could now see far out to sea, and it seemed to me that from the shore the sea, like a hill, climbed ever higher and higher, and in the distance displayed a slightly arched curve.

I sat down on the edge of the cliffs and meditated deeply upon the omnipotence, wisdom, and loving-kindness of God, Who was pleased to surround mankind by this vast and marvellous structure to the glory of His holy Name. More especially did I meditate upon the unspeakable love of God, in that He has again saved our poor fallen humanity from the tyranny of the Evil One through Himself in Jesus Christ (Who is Himself of the Father, as John has written) in the Incarnation and in the Virgin Mary, being begotten by His Holy Spirit, as Very Man of the Blood and Body of the Virgin Mary. Since God could not suffer as God He must be Man ; and indeed a perfect Man, Who appeared in justice and holiness and Who alone could fulfil the justice of God.

For since the Lord God, in place of a fallen angel, made in His image another creature, namely, man, and takes pleasure, like the master artist, in the masterpiece of his making, when all goes well with him, and is sorely grieved and angered when a man is lost and ruined ; so the Lord God has pleasure in the man who acknowledges His holy Name and stands before Him in the likeness of God in righteousness and holiness. This sorely vexes the Devil, who grudges man such great blessedness, and without a doubt he tried his poisonous lying persuasions not once but many

times, until he had compassed his fall. And the justice of God could do no other than allow death and punishment to succeed the Fall.

The immeasurable love of God and His loving-kindness at the same time besought mercy for His creature, the lost and fallen human race, and straightway found in itself means, despite the Devil, again to medicine such hurts.

Nevertheless, in order that they shall obey His Word and His Will as manifested to us through His Son, Jesus Christ, they must with true living faith believe in Him and His holy merits. And although they indeed must suffer death and moulder in the earth, such faith serves as a purification and a renewal that they may come before God's most holy countenance. For nothing impure can look upon God; *item*, the grain of wheat brings forth no harvest, but must likewise first perish and be buried in the earth.

And here I was able to represent to myself the great secret of the Holy Trinity. Here I received light as to how the miraculous birth of Jesus might have taken place; nevertheless I will lay my hand upon my mouth and will write no more thereof, but will say with Paul: "O Lord, how unsearchable are Thy judgments and Thy ways past finding out!"

During these lofty speculations an eagle of alarming size broke out of a hole or cleft close beside me with a great noise and shot forth into the air above the sea. I was startled almost to death, especially as he nearly struck me with his wide-spreading wings as he passed. I could think no other than that this was the Accursed One himself, the Devil, who was angered in that I had speculated upon these high and secret matters. Nevertheless, I had a good long look at him and decided that he was an actual eagle, of which there were many thereabouts.

And here I broke off, climbing down the cliffs to the ship, whither duty called me.

One day I went with a whole watch of seamen, in order to have a look about the island. And by the time we had eaten our fill of berries and had shot all the wild fowl we had need of, we came to a hole in the cliffs. And there was

a great rock lying before it, which even four men were scarce able to move.

The men were curious and overthrew the stone and crept inside. There we found a man who wore very little clothing except round the loins. We could not at first make out what he was, but there was a boatman with us who understood his speech. When we pulled the man out and asked

A WHALER.

From Friederch Martens' "Spitzbergische oder Groenlandische Reise-Beschreibung" (Hamburg, 1675).

hm what he was doing there, he appeared to understand and pointed towards Zeeland: they had put him in prison there and would have cut off his head with an axe because he had been guilty of adultery.

We made him understand that he was to go with us, and

this delighted him; he fell upon the ground before us, and ran beside us full of confidence.

When we took him on board ship the commander was greatly pleased. He gave him food and drink and lodged him in the cable hold; for he was afraid that the people of the island might look for him, which they did. Fully fifty persons and the priest came and wanted to take him from us *par force*. However, we denied all knowledge of him. They remained close at hand, knowing that he was with us. Our commander gave them permission to search the ship for him, knowing very well that they would never find him under all the ropes and cordage.

After a long search they still remained close at hand. It was a surprising thing that among so many ships they should be certain of ours. And I myself believe that it was because these people are sorcerers, although their justice is so strict. They said to us at last: that unless we got rid of the fellow and threw him into the sea we should all be drowned. We laughed at this, but it soon very nearly came true.

Then, as on the fourteenth day we put to sea from the harbour with the whole fleet, we soon ran into a strong wind and a threatening storm, in which the vessels scattered, one in this direction and one in that. Our own vessel was heavily laden fore and aft, and was not well sailed, so that we were always left behind. The longer the storm lasted the more violently it blew, so that we were forced to shorten sail.

Now the wind and waves would strike the ship from below and now on the quarter. And since the vessel began to leak sorely from all this tossing about, I could no longer remain below, for I saw with great anxiety how the ship was making water. However, on deck I had to tie myself fast, as I did not wish to be tumbled head over heels. My fine head of hair kept on blowing about my face and standing on end. Before anyone was aware of it wave had followed upon wave and had flooded the whole ship; as though it wished to drown us out of hand. He prayed who could pray. At last with a thundering crash our mast was shattered. This discouraged the bravest. We all believed that our end was

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HAMBURG : THE HARBOUR, WITH THE ADMIRALTY YACHT IN FOREGROUND.

From a copperplate engraving by D. J. Martin, *circa* 1755. The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

near, yet it was some consolation that we were in the open sea and could not go aground.

The crew as one man wanted to throw the Lapp into the sea, but the commander had him hidden in his cabin. Otherwise he would have gone overboard.

The storm lasted until the fourteenth day and showed no signs of blowing over. Even when the wind and the waves had abated somewhat, we could not sail because we had no mast. Our companion vessels, remarking this, were loth to leave us in such a pass, took the lead of us, and towed us back to Norway. There we anchored in a bay and all six whale-boats put ashore full of men, who cut a mast in the forest overhead and slid it down the mountain to the ship; for there is a vast forest in those parts.

All was done smartly, so that the mast was set up and the vessel refitted, and we were soon able to set sail again.

South of Jutland we intended to set sail for Holland, but the wind was against us. Consequently the three vessels decided to run into the Elbe below Hamburg (since other matters apart this was the seat of their train-oil business), and bade farewell to the convoyers and the other vessels.

We cruised about for a time outside the Elbe waiting for a pilot. At last he arrived and the vessel was given over to him, for the pilots are obliged to navigate carefully in accordance with the buoys. On reaching the wealthy part of the city and its quays we had to put ashore and pay toll.

At last we joyfully drew level with Hamburg. There was a firing of guns, and I thanked God that He had mercifully preserved me. And I never again wanted to hear of voyaging upon the sea.

Next day we received our pay, and each of us went whereever he would; I returned to my old lodgings and visited my old friends, and in particular Master Heinrich, my cousin, who was employed by the Mühlenerücke, a spot which I was especially fond of visiting, because the housewife was from Mecklenburg, and loved to hear the High German speech. I also visited Master Schmeisser from Halle, who sang and played in the opera; but he very soon led me into trouble, by persuading me to go with him to Ottenseu, which

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COPENHAGEN.

From "Tooneel der vermaarste Koopsteden en Handelplaatsen" (published Amsterdam, 1682, by Johann Janssonius' Heirs).

is a market town not far from Hamburg, full of houses of ill-fame. So I went with him; but as soon as I was aware of how matters stood I quickly slipped away. He spent the night there, and in the morning had neither money nor clothing; for they had taken all from him, and thrown him out into the street. He wished to lodge a complaint, but it would have come to nothing—"Why did you go there? And whom do you accuse?" I soon laughed him out of his resolve.

I had thought to take service in Hamburg, and with this purpose in mind packed up, and called upon the municipal barber Master Jessen; for the old barber to the Council was dead. Here I did very well, and the old man made much of me on account of my knowledge; and he used to send me out to his patients. We always kept the very best of tables, although in Hamburg they are all famous eaters; and after the meal the old lady used to pick up the dice-box and dice, and he whose throw was the lowest had to pay for wine; in short, we lived well.

I was a long time there, for my master would not willingly let me go, until there came to him a certain regimental surgeon from the Northern Dragoons, in the service of the King of Denmark. He and my master were like brothers, and indeed the same might have been said of me. He made me at once a very good offer and always took me in his carriage to Ütersen.

I was greatly amazed when we came at night to a great noble's house, where we found a coal-black, finely-dressed woman and three tawny-yellow children. Everything was magnificent. I never should have dreamed that this was the wife of my Master Gansberger, until they retired in company. I was taken to another magnificent room, with a handsome bed, which was quite full of excellent fruit, which I thoroughly enjoyed as though it had been some rare sweetmeat.

On the following day he disclosed to me his anxiety: Since he had married this lady, his wife, at the King's Court, she being of Moorish origin, and with her had received this estate as a present from the Queen, he had to spend some

time at Copenhagen, at the Royal Court, and did not know when he would return. On this account he must have a respectable man attached to the regiment, on whom he could depend. I should be able to draw my pay every month from the regimental quartermaster in return for my quittance or receipt; the *medicamenta* I could take from his chest; and he had already ordered the journeymen and apprentices to obey my orders. He gave me my choice, whether I would buy a horse for my own or take one out of his stable. I had misgivings as to the latter arrangement and bought a Danish saddle-horse for twenty-six thalers at his advice.

My colonel was Baron Löwenthal, a young and gallant gentleman, with whom my relations were excellent, and the same with the rest of the officers, who conceived a liking for me and made much of me and always made me of their company; but I could not speak with the dragoons save through an interpreter. I was billeted by myself in a barber's house in Ütersen. Every week I had to visit the various billets, which lay three miles apart. All my expenses were paid, so that I did not need to spend anything.

So thrifty was I that I left my strong-box with what money I still possessed under seal in Hamburg. Shortly before I went to sea my father had informed me that he had been unfortunate in his dealings in herrings and wheat, so that he owed some five or six hundred thalers, and was in great distress, not knowing how to pay them—which afflicted me greatly. I had managed to save something over five hundred thalers, and of this I placed four hundred in a wallet with a letter. I begged him to send a reply, so that when I returned from my voyage I might learn from his letter whether he had received the money in safety.

It was my good fortune that while in Hamburg I entered my name in the post-book and received a ticket in return; otherwise I never should have recovered a farthing. For when at last I returned from the sea I went to ask if there were letters for me; but there were none. I then wrote to my father, asking whether he had received the money about

the time in question? He replied that he had not seen a penny, nor yet a letter.

I went straight to the post-office, showed the letter and my posting-ticket, and asked to see the posting-book. Matters were as I had said; whereupon the postmaster told me: "The gentleman is sure to get his money, let him only have a little patience."—Barely a fortnight had gone by when my father wrote to me and told me he had now at last received

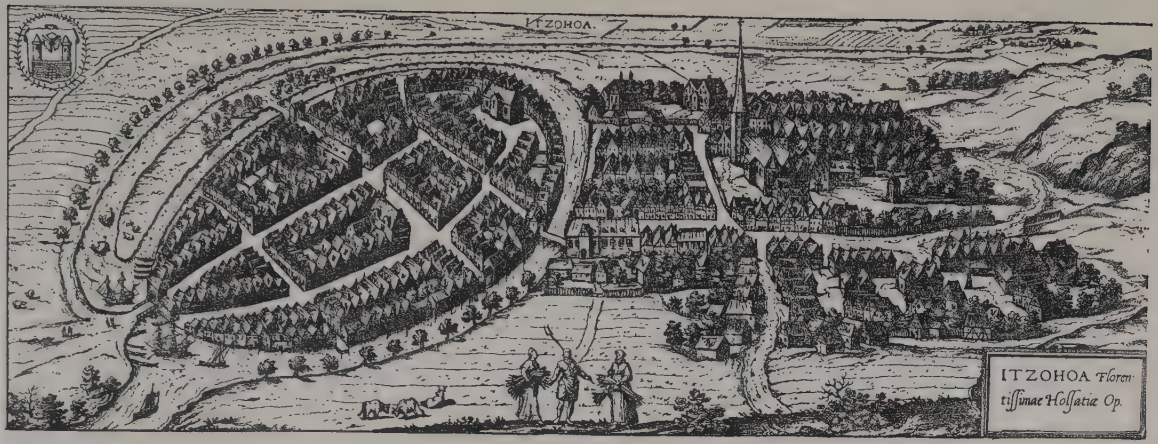
A LETTER-CARRIER.

From Moscherosch's "Gesichte Philanders von Settewald" (1650).

the money, together with the letter. He was told that no one had known to whom the money belonged.—Oh, wickedness!

Yet the money, as a matter of fact, reached my father just when he had most need of it; so that my blessed mother would often say, showing the little wallet, that they were manifestly saved thereby in their great distress, and helped thereafter.

I was once sent for while at my new post to attend a dragoon who had been terribly mauled by a bear. He went



ITZEHOE.

From "Theatrum exhibens illustriores principesque urbes" (published Amsterdam, 1657, by Johann Janssonius)

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one night with several others to a tavern in order to steal the landlord's calves. But that evening, to his misfortune, some bear-keepers had come to the tavern, so that the landlord had to put the calves elsewhere, while the bears were turned loose (so that they might eat) in the very stall in which the calves had been kept. The dragoons had no thought but that the calves were still there. During the night they broke into the tavern. My man crept into the stall and began to feel about him for the calves, and at last seized a bear by the head. The bear, knowing from his scent that he was a stranger, came near to flaying him, so that he yelled at the top of his voice, and the landlord and the bear-keepers were hard put to it to save his life. Meanwhile his two fellows had run away.—I had to visit him frequently and on several occasions had to sew up his wounds.

In this connection I am reminded of what happened to me in Itzehoe, and anyone would find it difficult to believe that I truly beheld it with my eyes and was forced to touch it with my hands. The major commanding our regiment had a wife who showed but little good feeling towards the poor fellows in billets. As she was going one evening about twilight to a country house, a wolf fell upon her in her own court-yard, threw her down, and came near to tearing the whole of her face to ribbons. Her servants came running up when they heard her shrieks, just as the wolf escaped by jumping over the garden wall. A number of soldiers ran after him, but they saw nothing of him. I had to attend her and bind up her wounds and let blood.

Then Major Herest came home, and swore that he would repay the wolf!—For this purpose, he placed loaded firearms charged with bullets of antimony in constant readiness.

Scarcely a week had gone by when the unwelcome visitor returned by way of the garden wall. The major was straightway summoned, and shot the wolf so that he rolled over and over.

A great crowd of people had collected; and they drove the werewolf before them with spears and stakes, right past my door. I have never in my life beheld such a sight. They too shot at him, but nothing came of it. They drove him

out of the town, and there he got away just as they seemed to have caught him.

There were indeed some who insisted that they had found in her den an old woman who had been shot in the hip. Now, while I did not see this I do not say that it was impossible; for one often hears of such miraculous though devilish transformations. But I myself have never been able to determine whether they are true. Yet this I do believe, and it is, moreover, in agreement with the Scriptures, that whereas God works in the children of light in spirit, faith and truth, so in some degree the Devil is able to create false conceptions in godless and evil men by means of unbelief, lies and darkness. The Devil is a spirit, and can do no other than work in the spirit of evil, creating false apparitions and impressions by those people who are known as sorcerers; of whom there are still many thousands in these parts and in Mecklenburg; as is proved by the many burnings at the stake. And men who are truly learned and clever men would not behave so insanely as to allow guiltless persons to be executed and burned alive without full conviction. And there may also have been those that used to work through *Magia Naturalis* and had no bond with the Devil. It was enough that they, the so-called sorcerers, through the promptings of their evil inner spirits, should have employed natural means to do hurt to the life, the children and the cattle of their poorer neighbours, and had thereby deserved death. For this reason it was not possible altogether to abolish the trial of witches.

In support of my opinion as above stated, I will cite this instance: In Giebichenstein a convicted witch from one of the villages lay in prison, and as the season of Walpurgis Night was approaching, the bailiff, in company with other persons, entered the room where she lay in chains, and said: "Martha, Martha, you will not to-day be able to join the rest on the Blockersberg."—"Ay, ay, Master Bailiff," said the woman, "I shall be there."—"But, you foolish woman," said the bailiff, "you are locked in here!"—"I shall be there at midnight," said the woman.

The bailiff and those with him seated themselves, out of

curiosity, smoking and looking on. Close upon midnight the woman was asleep and snoring; and she began to jump and shout upon the straw as though dancing, and this she continued for a long while, until she awoke from sleep, exhausted. The bailiff asked her: "Well, have you been there?"—"Yes," said she, "I have been there; and a jolly time we had of it; so-and-so was there too, and so-and-so and so-and-so." And she made a long story of it.—Now it will be seen that all this existed only because of a wicked and devilish imagination, and a false and wicked superstition. This woman died in prison, as a result of protracted examination.

But now to return to my narrative. I was allotted quarters at Pinneberg, not far from Hamburg, in the house of a farmer. And as he was a young man, new to his calling, and had no extra bed, I had to share his bed with him. Of course, he, as the host, laid in the middle, while I was on one side and his wife on the other. I made no objection to this, since they were clean and wholesome young people; for I have never in my life caused my host any vexation or loss, or in any way made matters difficult for him (as has happened to me in my old age) but the people have often wept when I have left my billet. Consequently I did all that I could to advise them and they did all they could to make me comfortable. As long as I was in this billet I managed everything, whether in the house or in the fields. They had no children, but had a father and mother to care for.

Here I had a patient who gave me many a sleepless night. This was a fellow who had got up to some wickedness with his *membro*, and as it became hard and swollen he had bound it up until it turned black, and he would not speak of it to anyone. Then I was sent for as he lay wallowing in his blood. However, I managed to set him on his feet again, though not without a thousand pains, such as in those days I used to expend upon my patients, while diligently praying to God that I might succeed in curing them. It is true that when my patients were in the greatest danger, or when they were dying, I used to urge them to a true repentance and to prayer. For sickness, wounds and death are assuredly the

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EXEMPLARY JUSTICE.

From Hanns Friedrich von Fleming's "Der vollkommene Teutsche Soldat" (Leipzig, 1726).

fruit of sin, and are a punishment for sin. And if God is to aid recovery, as the true Physician of body and soul, this must be attained by repentance, faith and prayer. And in this connection I have seen and experienced wonders; and things impossible to others have for me become possible. Of this I could adduce many examples, even here in Halle, had I anything to gain thereby. But where now are the persons concerned?

One of our cornets* had everything stolen, by our two drummers, who sold their booty in Hamburg. They then escaped to Saxony; but one of the two was brought back again. According to military law, he was hanged upon a gallows, and the whole regiment had to march through the streets of Hamburg to the place of execution. There the hangman had made the rope too long, and wished to drop the culprit a second time. For this purpose they took him down again and improved the arrangement of the rope. There stood the poor sinner under the gallows, staggering like a drunken man; he was all but dead already, and already choking.

But now the horse soldiers and all the dragoons shouted, "Hi, what's this?"—in their northern tongue—"He has undergone his punishment!" and they utterly refused to consent that he should be strung up a second time. They drew their pistols and threatened to shoot the hangman.

And now the officers had their hands full, quieting the men with drawn swords, so that the man could be quickly strung up again and hanged. Afterwards yet two more men were hanged upon this gallows for theft; it stood close to the Hamburg high road.

Having ridden into Hamburg in the performance of my duty and having lingered with some good friends of mine until the hour for closing the gates (since I was thoroughly familiar with the way home), I rode off despite all warnings that the road was unsafe, since only a short time before a journeyman barber had had his throat cut in a wayside thicket because he was unwilling to marry a certain woman, who was living with him out of wedlock. The dogs had eaten him to the very bones, and by the razors

and lancets that lay beside him it was recognized that this was the lost journeyman barber.

As it became quite dark while I was on the road, I gave my horse his head, to which he was accustomed, and we came by chance upon the place of execution. My horse stopped short, snorting and seeking to turn round. I was startled, and could not understand what was wrong. I put spurs to my horse, turning his head in the right direction. But no, he would not budge. I drew my pistol and fired, as the custom was among soldiers, and then I saw in the dusk, as it were, several men walking upon the empty air. I looked more closely, and perceived that I was close to the gallows; this filled me with horror, and I turned off to the left, reaching my billet by another road.

Next day I learned that the thieves had been taken down from the gallows that very night.—When a man is warned not to ride forth in the evening he should accept the warning and remain where he is, for the night is no man's friend.

Here I am reminded not to grow silent in praising my God, in that while I was still stationed in the fortress of Crempe, and on account of my duties had gone to Glückstadt on foot, a distance of two miles, I was again belated by night. When I returned to the fortress it was already closed and the bridges drawn up. Since no one could any longer enter or leave the fortress, I must perforce wander about in the darkness of night. The country thereabout is full of ditches, which the peasants leap with their jumping-poles (as they do in marshy countries) but which I was unable to cross. Neither was I willing to go back. I saw in the distance a light upon the hillside, which I might be able to reach. I thought there must be a village there; but it was only a little shepherd's house, with a light shining through the shutters.

I knocked several times on the shutters. The man made as though he had not heard me. At last he asked, in a loud voice, "Who is outside there?"—I replied, "Good friend, I have lost my way, so let me lie in thy house."—"What!" said he, "How should I open the door? Who knows who you may be?" I replied, "I am the army surgeon from Crempe

and I am belated."—"What are you? Why didn't you stay there?"—His wife who lay in childbed, urged her husband to open the door. Whereupon he opened to me, and I entered the room with him. His wife sat there in the bed, craning her neck and looking on. When she had observed that I was not the sort of fellow for whom they had first taken me, she asked me whether I would like anything to eat? I told her yes, and would willingly pay for it. At this she got out of bed and made me a good beer soup with eggs; she also gave me boiled eggs and smoked sausage and a jug of their good small beer. All of which contented me greatly for I had wandered about until I was hungry and thirsty. I began to tell them something or other, for they liked to listen to the High German speech, especially the wife, who was young and comely. At last they made me a bed of straw in the room. And as I regarded the contentment of these good people I wished privately that God might one day give me, too, such a little house and such contentment. (*N.B.* And in after days He did in His mercy give me that which I desired, yea, three or four times over; as will follow. These things I bear in mind; for may we not think that God in His mercy gives ear to such sighs and that they are pleasing to Him?) When I rose in the morning, there again was soup and bread and butter for me, and they would not accept any payment.

From Pinneberg I had again to go to Ütersen. And there I had constantly to undertake dangerous journeys by night, along the dykes (wherewith the whole countryside thereabouts is surrounded, and which are extremely high; when there is a storm from the north-west the water rises so high that the dykes are often breached, and the water is fully five to six yards higher than the land, and the people are in great peril; for which reason watch is kept both by day and by night), so that I had no desire to make a longer stay.

Meanwhile it happened that Lieutenant-General Demini came to Ütersen, in order to pay a visit to Privy Councillor Buchwald, or rather his wife, since the Privy Councillor was an old man and away from home, and she was a fine handsome

HAMBURG : THE HARBOUR.

After a copperplate engraving by D. J. Martin, *circa* 1754. The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

woman. But when the Councillor returned home unexpectedly and found this distinguished guest, they were both somewhat startled. Nevertheless, he was obliged to do his guest all honour, with costly wines, and to entertain him.

Now, when the General sought to take his leave—and the wine and good cheer may well have confused him—and he was endeavouring to make his compliments with the due scraping and bowing, outside the door of the house, where there was a high step without any handrail (as is usual, even in the largest and finest houses), he fell over backwards, receiving an extensive wound in the head. The blow produced the immediate effect, that he became speechless, and without understanding, and was carried back into the house.

Then what a hue and cry for the regimental surgeon! I was sent for straightway, and on every side it was dinned into my ears that I must save him.

In the first place I opened a vein in the right arm and let the blood flow freely. After this I shaved his head and bandaged his wound; and then they had to bring me living hens, in which I made a long incision and then tore them clean in two; and these I laid, with blood and all, on his head, and this I did so often as the hens grew cold. I also gave him several doses of *spiritum salis ammoniaci anisatum* and *pulverem antispasmaticum*. Finally, I made frequent applications of poultices of cabbage boiled in wine.

Then the patient began to speak indistinctly and to wave his arms about, and took me by the hand, saying privately to the Colonel: "Oh, surgeon, good man, he not leave me!" (for he was a Frenchman). And as he was a very rich man with many dependents, they thought it advisable that *Doctores* should be sent for, and they were immediately brought from Hamburg in a coach and four.

The physicians asked me all sorts of particulars, and what I had done for him. I told them, and they approved and gave me medicaments of their own which were to be administered hourly. They soon excused themselves; on account of their patients they could not remain long away from Hamburg.

It was then decided to take the General to Hamburg in a great coach with a bed, with me beside him, while the

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HAMBURG : THE HARBOUR.

After the copperplate engraving by D. J. Martin, *circa* 1754. The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

two *Doctores* accompanied us in another coach and the servants and lackeys travelled by post. I sought to excuse myself on account of my duties, but to no avail. The regiment must be attended to by other army surgeons. None the less, my pay should be continued. I yielded, only giving orders that my two horses should be well looked after.

In Hamburg we lodged with a contractor. And there again I was thoroughly comfortable. For I dined at the General's table and at night slept on a folding bed in the General's own room, so that I might be with him in case he required assistance, to rub and anoint his limbs, so that in a little more than three months' time he was completely restored.

There was a rich Portuguese Jew in Hamburg, by name Texera, who visited my master almost daily, and amongst other things used to play with him for great heaps of money, and he often dined with my master*.

One day, when the cook had prepared a tench, with a yellow cream sauce, as the Jew had enjoyed it exceedingly he spoke to his own cook: "You never give me anything as good as that!"—The cook came to see our cook and asked him how to prepare the dish in question, and informed his master on returning that the fish was a tench.

Then the Jew began to execrate himself and to spit, for the Jews may not eat any fish without scales; however, the thing was done; and he was never again so trusting.

The Jew's servants—of whom there were four or five, or more—were constantly at our house. And since we had not very much to do, we too used to play, either with cards, or with the dice. On one occasion they got me to join them; and at one sitting I lost forty thalers. Everything turned quite green and yellow before my eyes, and I could not understand what had come to me. But as I had some store of money put by, I once more joined them, and won all my money back, with the exception of sixteen groschen. I threw down yet another sixteen groschen for drinks and declared: In all my life I have never again played for money; for I

HAMBURG : THE HARBOUR.

From a copperplate engraving by D. J. Martin, *circa* 1754. The original is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

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have seen how poor and desperate it makes a man, bringing wounds and death in its train.

One even hears people saying that in all their lives they never saw a wealthy gambler. I, however, once saw one in Hamburg, who had won more than sixty thousand thalers.—Nevertheless, I hold that avaricious gambling is no better than theft, and it also infringes the ninth and tenth commandments: "Thou shalt not covet," etc. For this reason I have always warned youth against such an evil custom.

Two of the Jew's servants became so confidential and friendly with me, that they asked me, over and over again, to explain our Christian doctrine. And when I had praised the Christian doctrine in simple words (as far as my knowledge would allow me) and had proved, by the Prophet Daniel and others, that the promised Messiah had come, and how great was the promise which we had received in our Lord Christ, and had shown them passages of the Scriptures and the Psalms (of which they had a very high opinion), and in particular the text: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come," they then began to weep bitterly and to say: "Oh, what a fortunate people are you, that from your youth you should be instructed in these matters."

They told me in confidence that they too wished to become Christians; how should they set about it?—My advice to them was that they should go to Doctor So-and-so, who would instruct them further as to what they should do.—They only begged that all should be kept secret; or they would at once be discharged and would suffer great hardships.—Later on, as I afterwards learnt, they were both baptized.

I used to go almost daily through the Altona Gate and in fine weather to the repairing slips by the rope-walk in order to listen to the beautiful peals of bells. There came and sat beside me one day a man whose name I forget; however, he was a china merchant, and the people called him the "crockery man." He told me some amazing things when our talk turned upon spiritual matters: for example, how he

had been kept in prison in Bohemia because he had endeavoured to complain of the doctrines of a certain preacher. Also that he used to go about Hamburg and was often requested to visit the sick in order that he might pray them back to health. Indeed, by the help of his faith and the Lord Jesus, he was able to drive out the devil, and he told me of various cures, and in particular of a broker's daughter, in connection with whom he had had to endure many temptations, for the Devil wished to throw his child out of the attic

HAMBURG: THE CATHEDRAL, AS SEEN FROM THE FISH-MARKET.

From Gottfried Schütze's "Die Geschichte von Hamburg" (1775).

window, but he had defied the fiend to do his worst; and other like matters. And when he was a prisoner in Bohemia there was one fellow-prisoner who lay in chains and had become quite desperate and in doubt of his salvation. But him he converted anew by means of God's Word and a ring of glowing coals which he had taken out of the fire with bare hands, unscathed, as a sign of the truth, and had thereby made it

manifest that God desireth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live. And so, with many rites and ceremonies, he restored the wretched man to righteousness.

On this rope-walk a very tall, roomy hobby-horse-ride or roundabout had been constructed, where one could sit and tilt at a little ring. Thither the journeymen barbers often used to accompany me. But one day I was thrown down and received such a violent blow on the head from the revolving beam that for a long time I was unable to stand upright, and I never went there again. On the other hand, twice a week I accompanied my employer to the opera, which was a very magnificent spectacle.

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OF MY HOME-COMING

As I had now been fourteen weeks with the General in Hamburg, and he was now completely restored to health, I began to inquire as to my discharge. For a long time the General would not hear of it. At last, as I persisted, he asked me what I had to complain of. I alleged as an excuse that I had an aged father and mother, who were longing to have me at home and to marry me, which was the actual truth; for my father had often written to me in such terms. The General said, "And what do you propose to do in your beggarly country? You are better off here. I will look after you, and can always give you a regiment." I thanked him for his gracious offer but insisted that I must go home. Finally he lost his temper and gave me a bill or an assignation on Texera's bank, when the Colonel had to give me my discharge, and wished me luck on my journey.

I took the French bill and went to the bank. When I entered the great room there I was amazed by all the money that was there, sorted and packed into large bags or coffers. The cashier took my bill and began to count out the money. I thought to myself: "Hasn't he almost finished?"—But he still went on counting, until he had counted out a hundred thalers in good Danish kronen. "There is your money!" he said.—I pocketed the money and once more thanked the General for this handsome sum.

Then I set out upon my journey to Ütersen. My old employer had returned home again, and gave me my pay just as though I had remained there. I packed up my money and other effects in a coffer and gave it to the post.

I, however, riding one of my horses and leading the other, so that I should be able to change horses, rode forth across the Lüneburg heath, quite alone, in the direction of Halle. And it was a great joy to my parents when I reached my home.

But on the way home, in Magdeburg, I met my brother,* who was introduced to me by the merchant, Master Alderman Köppe, who begged us both to dine at his table. For my brother did not know me until Master Köppe asked him: Where was his brother the barber? and finally: Whether he truly did not recognise me? Then he perceived that I was his brother, and fell upon my neck.

However, I gave him a stern reprimand on account of his bad conduct, of which I had heard in letters.

I found him a good master, a saddler, and gave him some money (which he had no right to expect), and admonished him to live a virtuous life. But his virtue was not of long continuance, for he began once more to go about with the soldiers, from whom my father had already twice redeemed him. But no advice, no warnings were of any use, until poverty and distress should overtake him in his latter years, as I many times prophesied would be the case.

My worthy father, thinking of my future, had bought for me a barber's establishment, namely, the Grünewald Saloon, from the heirs, and had given for it some forty thalers. And he was exceedingly anxious that I should marry, and his choice had fallen upon the daughter of one Heintze, a broker in the market.

But the barbers, and in particular my old master, and my cousin, had no desire whatever that I should settle in Halle, for they feared that I might cause greater injury to their livelihood than a stranger. For I believe that no other profession suffered more from jealousy and envy than that of the barbers. For this reason they inscribed one Elias Geissler from Leipzig and secretly bought him the barber's business, alleging to the legal authorities that they, in accordance with their regulations, had prior claims before a stranger.

None the less, I was compelled to withdraw, although I entreated all those we were *praestandis* and wasted much eloquence. It was of no avail: I was forced to leave Halle.— But it did neither the barbers nor the merchants any credit, and it was afterwards to be seen that God's punishment had fallen on them, as hereafter.

AGAIN I LEAVE HALLE

I HAD an aunt in Merseburg, the wife of the Secretary to the Revenue, who was much liked at the Court there. This good woman recommended me to the Grand Duke * and Duchess. At the same time she proposed that I should marry one of their waiting-women, for whom I had a great affection, a spinster, who, although full thirty years of age, had amassed a good three thousand thalers.

The remuneration was two hundred thalers yearly, a free brewing, two cords of wood, free lodging, and a rent-free barber's saloon in Magdeburg, with the style of Court and Travelling Barber. For they were not willing to dismiss the Court barber, old Krautzen.

I accepted these terms, and proceeded to the Court. I must admit that their Highnesses and the rest held me in esteem and affection.

But the old Court barber found me no welcome sight, and the Privy Councillors, who had a great deal to say, were on his side. They became absolutely obstructive whenever the Grand Duke and Duchess gave them orders that all should be made ready for my installation, so that nothing was achieved. They even ventured to tell me to my very face that I should not get the appointment, for the Grand Duke had people enough already, and could not make any new appointments. I thought to myself: "So princes and nobles are the slaves of their servants and counsellors, and cannot do as they would!"

I repeated this to the Grand Duke and Duchess, who were greatly vexed, and again gave the most explicit orders; but nothing whatever was done.

Meanwhile a year had gone by, and it was time for me to promise marriage to my waiting-woman, who had shown me all imaginable affection and goodwill; for she was already

willing to give me everything!—But I said: "No; if I do not receive the Prince's commission in black and white I shall make no promise of any kind. For if matters are not assured, as it seems they are not, I can go from here whither my fortune may lead me. How would it help her if I had a wife and she a husband without a livelihood?"—But she would hear nothing of this, and always debited the expense of meals and journeys in my company to the estate of the Grand Duke. But I took heed as to what I was about.

They all knew at Court that I was no great drinker; on this account they were always so ordering matters as to force me to drink to excess. And at that time I dined every day at the Prince's table, or with the ladies, and there introduced all manner of good old German pastimes, or told old stories, or at last even sought out a gipsy so as to give them the old truth in another dress. Something would happen; and then they all wanted to know the truth, and insisted, even before the Grand Duchess, that I would tell the future of all of them, even of the two Princes, from the face and hand.

The Grand Duchess very soon sent for me in this connection. I bethought me first of all of this or that crazy jest, of which I now repented.

The Duchess asked me at once, with a serious expression: "Dietz, I know you have told my husband's fortune from his hand, I want to know what you told him," and so forth.—"Your Highness," I said, "it was only a jest."—"What!" she replied, "one must not jest with sovereign princes; tell me what it was," and so forth.—I said: "I can see plainly that the Prince has a weak constitution, and will suffer many shocks," and other like statements.—But she wanted to know everything that I had prophesied.—However I excused myself as well as I could; one must not build upon such prophecies, for with chiromancy all was mere conjecture; there was no certainty about it.

But afterwards it did truly happen as I had foretold.

There was at Court a singer, the daughter of a teacher of languages, who also played on the lute, and was beloved

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MERSEBURG.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia" (Frankfurt on the Main. Engraved and published by Matthew Merian, 1650).

by the Grand Duke. Of this, were it permitted, and were it my business, I could make a whole romance.* The lady liked to have me with her or about her; however, we did not dare to let anyone mark this, for I should have fallen into disgrace.

Meanwhile some time went by, and nothing was said of my appointment (although I had on several occasions complained directly to the Duke) until they one day managed, by some contriving, what with drinking and proposing toasts, to get the better of me. I made my excuses: I had committed an excess, not knowing what I was about; but it was all no use, until I surrendered, and was dragged, sick unto death, into the damsel's chamber. There they laid me in her bed. But matters went no better, and I had to leave the Court, and go to my cousin's house in Berlin. There for several days I spat blood. And the Grand Duchess sent me her *Medicum* for a fortnight.

As I was now disgusted with Court life, and could see no certainty in my prospects, I determined to accept the appointment which had been offered to me at Leipzig, where I could always earn two hundred thalers and more yearly.

After this I got me secretly upon the back of a hired horse and continued my journey to Leipzig.

I had scarcely been five days with my new employer when the Grand Duke's groom of the chamber, Nester, arrived and took me apart and asked me why I had secretly left the Court. The Grand Duke was greatly displeased and insisted that I should return. But I told him the whole of my trouble, and how I could not obtain a commission.—He replied that one must not hurry the Prince; that the matter would be seen to.—However, I refused to count upon that.

Then the Grand Duke sent a rider with a letter to the Council; until further orders they were to keep me in custody!—Whereupon the Burgomaster, whom I was wont to shave, asked my master what sort of a journeyman he had?—My employer, who was himself attending him, replied: "The one who has been shaving you."—On this I had to go to see him. He asked me what dealings I had had with the Duke of Merseburg? I thereupon related the whole affair, how

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A VIEW OF LEIPZIG.

From Peter Schenk's "Hecatompolis" (1702).

I had gone to Court under certain conditions, and under those conditions had intended to marry. But these conditions the Grand Duke had not kept, so I, being a young man, must perforce seek my fortune elsewhere.—The Burgomaster approved of my action and asked me: "If the Grand Duke were to keep his promise to me, was I prepared to go back?"—"Yes," I said. "Directly the security reaches me I shall be willing to go back."—With that he was contented and decided to answer the Grand Duke *nomine senatus*. However, he warned me not to go outside the gates of the city or to approach the frontier; but here no one would molest me.

I spent two years in this manner in Leipzig. I was first a year with Master Bachert, and then a year with Master Schneider.

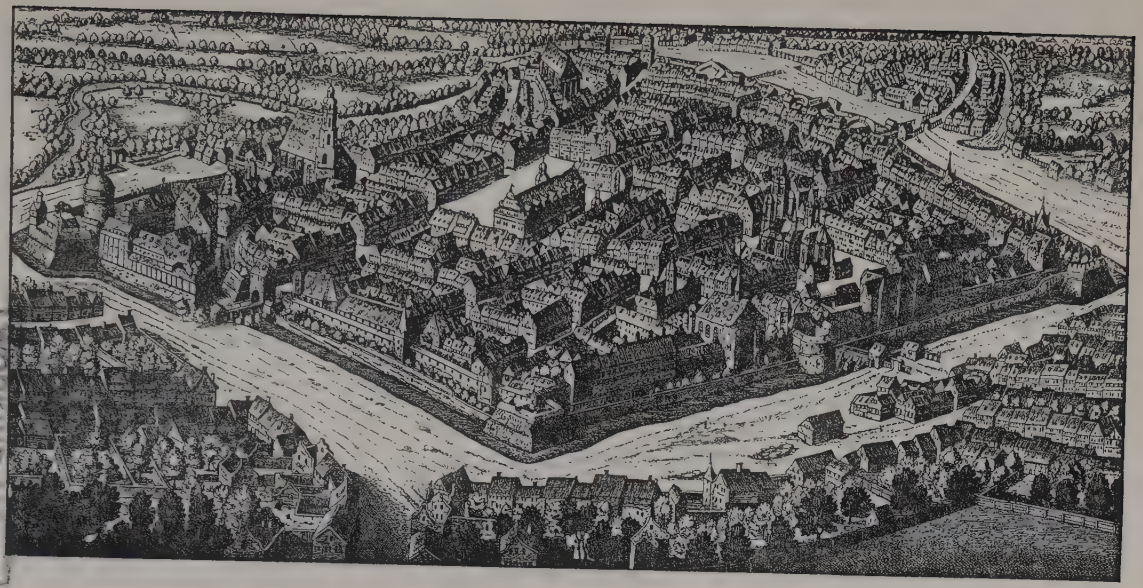
After this Master Bachert wanted to help to buy me a barber's saloon (Wagner's), and would perhaps have given me one of his daughters. For he often used to say that it would be a shame if I were to set up in a poor neighbourhood.—But the proposal fell through, as the price was too great.

I then accepted a written recommendation to one Master Wetzel of Breslau who dwelt on the Schweinschen Gasse, and to Breslau I went in the express coach.

There, too, I had an excellent situation, and amongst other things made perukes.

It was on the Ohlau. In the evening I used to sit beside the river with my guitar or violin, and thereby used to attract the Silesian maidens for a friendly talk. I was then hoping to marry a wealthy merchant's or brewer's daughter with the goodwill of her parents, with whom I stood well, and from whom I received much kindness. But when it came to the point I was one day late for the fair. This discouraged me so greatly that I did not care to remain any longer in Breslau. In the meantime I had likewise sought out my old sweetheart from the Hungarian marches, but I found her already married.

Breslau is a fine city, and one sees there a great deal of the Catholics: their convents, processions, masses, holy sepulchres, and all sorts of plays of Christ's birth and death, and people lashing themselves and dragging the Cross and



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LEIPZIG.

From "Toonel der vermaarste Koopsteden en Handelplaatsen" (published Amsterdam, 1682, by Johann Janssonius' Heirs).

so forth. But for young men and young women it offered great temptations. For my fellow-countryman Von Dŏlitz took me with him one day to an upstairs room in a wineshop, and there were two young women with their mother, who drank and ate with us just as much as we could pay for. At night there came a great disturbance at the door, and there was talk of breaking it down. However, the people of the house looked out of their windows and asked those outside what they wanted? They shouted: "Open, or we shall break down the door; there are two fellows upstairs whom we've got to have!" The men of the house, terrified, said: "There's the whole watch there—we shall have to open!" We both felt extremely anxious; and we crept to the very top of the house, to a loft, amongst a number of great barrels.—They came in, and searched all over the place, but by great good fortune did not find us; for we should have been taken for soldiers, as a great levy was being made.

Another time I was again led away by seven German barbers. They all stuck to me like so many burrs, some of them being known to me, as in the *Collegia Chirurgica* of Leipzig I had read German to them. And I had imparted to them my own individual *philosophia*. Namely, that the temperament of a man cannot be defined, or cannot be absolutely stated; on the contrary, in accordance with the theophrastic * and other *principiis* of salt, sulphur, and *mercurius*, of which everything in the whole world is compounded, even the Almighty God Himself being glorified in Three Persons, while man likewise consists, in addition to spirit, soul, and body, of *sal*, sulphur, and *mercurius*, wherefore it is much more certain, and more profitable, and much safer likewise to derive them from the blood, life, health, wounds, sickness and death of man, as experience of such matters clearly proves by the *chymia*. I imparted to them also my other *philosophia*, namely, that the universal medicinal cure of man resides principally in *vegetabilii*, in leaves of plants, herbs, and trees; because these conform with the human body and blood. Moreover, the *mineralia* are too refractory and corrosive, and often dangerous or deadly, if prepared by inexperienced persons. Indeed, however well they are prepared they

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TOWN HALL AND MARKET-PLACE, BRESLAU, LOOKING FROM THE CORN-MARKET.

From an engraving after a drawing by Friedrich Bernhard Werner (*circa* 1730).

would still be hazardous and would leave something bad behind them. I unfolded at length the argument that our first parents, Adam and Eve, brought sin into the world from a tree. From sin came death and all the infirmities of mankind, in accordance with the Scriptures. Our Christ, our Redemption, and our Humanity, as the true Samaritan and Physician, in accordance with the eternal Providence of God, was forced to suffer and to die on the Tree, the Cross, that He might thereby heal us of our wounds and our sins. And has also placed so much power and such properties in trees, roots and herbs, that I believe that if we still had (and had not lost) the pristine knowledge, which was man's before the fall, to gather herbs, flowers, and shrubs at the right time and season, we should perform great *miracula* therewith. As in some degree we still observe the achievements of certain unlearned persons with the greatest astonishment. And I myself have seen such things done and *per sympathiam et antipathiam* have tested a few shrubs and herbs and have done many remarkable things with them ; as I should report, would time and space suffer me. But how this came about, and how these remedies operate, is beyond my horizon ; but it is to be presumed that they are affected by the mutual exchange of *particulae.*

The above-mentioned journeymen barbers took me with them to a village, Alt-Scheitnig, in the tavern or inn of which all was merry with dance and music and the presence of innumerable young working-men. We drank and ate at peace in a private room ; but as the beer got into their heads my companions also wished to dance. In particular, we had a journeyman barber with us who was a teacher of dancing, and urged the others at least to look on. So soon as he began to dance his French dance the others all stood still awhile, and gazed at him with astonishment as he sprang into the air. But it lasted too long for their taste, so that one of them tripped up the partner of one of our dancers. In a moment all was blows and uproar and the place was turned upside down. However, the host and his servants made peace, and we kept our places, as in us the host had good customers.

As it was beginning to grow dark we made ready to start on our homeward journey. We had to walk upon a long

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BRESLAU : TOWN HALL AND MARKET-PLACE, SEEN FROM THE HAY-MARKET.

From an engraving after a drawing by Friedrich Bernhard Werner (1730).

down, on one side of which was the Ohlau, and on the other the Oder.

This being so, the young working-men were lying in wait for us. As soon as we appeared they fell upon us with swords, cudgels and sticks. We were soon fighting hand to hand, and one of them, under my very nose, thrust his bare sword into the earth. Others did the same; but before we were aware of it they were smiting at us from behind with cudgels and sticks, so that no one knew pot from kettle. Each of us did his best to look after his own skin. A soldier hit me twice over the head with his sabre, as may be seen to this day, so that the blood ran in streams over my face. One bath attendant I ran through the back from behind. Some were struck down and stabbed. One of us, who was wearing his fine new clothes, they threw into the water. *Summa:* the blood flowed in torrents, and we were almost all wounded. Whereat the women and children and all shrieked and shouted until the shrieking was heard in the city, whereat the council sent out the best part of a company of soldiers and arrested all present.

But our party, upon my advice, had withdrawn in two wherries, up the Thum, on the further side of the Oder. We put up at the inn, bandaged our wounds, ate and drank, and allowed nothing to trouble us. Our scouts brought us the news that by good fortune every man of the other party had been laid by the heels and was in prison.

Our employers were distracted, and sent out messenger after messenger commanding us to return home.

But this we could not do with any security, until the day of the shooting-match approached, when there would be a terrible din and disorder outside our gate, as had happened at Lübeck at the time of the shooting-match. So when the time came we forced our way through the gates with the rest; nevertheless, our employers gave us a very cool reception.

However, we took measures to protect ourselves from the City Council, which wanted to send for our party also, engaging an advocate, who undertook to represent how we were spied upon and ambushed.—Every one of our aggressors had to find bail before he could be set at liberty, and the

whole matter ended in a long-protracted lawsuit; so that I thought it well to make my escape.

I got myself and my chest aboard a Breslau wherry and travelled up the Oder through Silesia to Berlin. On the way I was once again in danger of losing my life through bathing in the Oder. Had I not been so good a swimmer I should have done so!—We obtained some beer on the journey and some musicians accompanied us all the way to Berlin.

I put up at an inn in the Grünstrass, which was kept by one Mistress Grünau. She had a daughter still at home who was downright ugly, but no man was ever good enough for her, although she had already reached her thirtieth year. Since I used to flatter her, and show her every mark of esteem, both she and her mother thought very highly of me; especially as I had cured them both of the fever. For this reason I was very soon in great request, and every day many persons would come to me from Leipzig, and would call me Master Doctor. Indeed, I had even, *salvo honore*, to inspect urine, for money, telling the people all sorts of things until something came true. Before I rose in the morning there were already three or four persons waiting for me, and I was earning as much money as I could possibly want.—As a special favour I was given a bedroom next to that of the hostess and her daughter, who gave me, in token of their gratitude on account of my curing them, a fine golden ring, a taper-holder, and a large silver spoon, which are still in my possession. The Dutch and Hamburg merchants used to stay at this inn and dine there, and with them I was able to converse; so that I used to carve for them at table and see to their comfort, since there was no landlord, and they took me for that worthy. For which reason I lived there free of all expense.

One day there dined at the table a woman with a cap of black crêpe; a stranger to me. The hostess and her daughter kept on laughing, but I had no idea what it was all about. After dinner, however, the lady revealed herself; and she turned out to be my old sweetheart from Spandau. I was somewhat alarmed by her presence; I did not know what it

might mean.—She told me that she had learned that I was there, and had come thither out of longing to see me again, for she had no friends.—I appeared delighted to see her, and showed her every mark of esteem, and asked her how matters were going with her? "Well" she replied, "I have married Master Eberlein, and have borne him three children."—This eased me greatly. She stayed the night there with the hostess's daughter, and in the morning returned to Spandau, and I never saw her more.

In the meanwhile my father came to Berlin to see me, and to discuss the possibilities (since at Court there was so much to be earned and so much practice to be obtained)—of obtaining for me, in Halle, a free Court barber's saloon. He had indeed taken some steps in that direction, in the great deal of business of the kind with the help of Privy Councillor Fuchs. I let him do as he wished; and he had an application prepared by Master Katsch, who at that time was still a poor advocate, though subsequently he became one of the most distinguished Privy Councillors. Thereupon we set out to call on Privy Councillor Fuchs.

But he, directly he heard our errand, set about us in the most violent fashion: "What, what!" he said, "the people of Halle have a privileged corporation! One cannot take things away from them to give them to others! You are a young man and can very well look for something else."—Remonstrance was useless. We had perforce to go away again like a cat from a dovecot. This was quite just. Would to God matters had been left thus.—However, we were despondent and my father returned home.

It may have been the Privy Councillor, or another, who recommended me to his Highness the Grand Master * in Sonnenburg, the brother of our King. It is enough that Master Schmieling, who was his groom of the chamber and very anxious to leave, sent for me and explained the terms offered, so, as I did not care to refuse, I travelled in his company.

And so I came to a second Court. I waited upon the Prince, I made him my most dutiful compliments, and so far

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SONNENBURG.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia." (Published in Frankfurt on the Main by Matthew Merian's Heirs, 1652.)

all went well. I received daily attendance, food and drink, and everything in abundance. Midday dinner we took about three or four o'clock; at night we supped about twelve or one; of an evening, for sheer weariness, we used to lie among the Prince's wolfskins, or elsewhere, wherever we could, like so many pigs. And in the mornings we arose again without saying our prayers; and then repaired to the kitchen and the cellar. On occasion, too, we went hunting, and so it was day after day.

One day a party of farmers came and complained of a great bear, which was taking their beehives and their calves, hens, geese and so forth. The farmers had to precede us in order to show us the tracks of the bear. The Margrave Albrecht and Christian Ludwig went with them, very greatly to their own entertainment. At last we found the bear lying in the middle of a bog.

We got some boats together and brought the hounds over But the bear would let none of them approach him (until burning brands were thrown into his lurking-place), at which he snapped at them and flung them off him, but at last he came out and bounced into the water. He kept them at bay for fully two hours, until they were exhausted. Then they shot him through the head, chiefly because he capsized all their boats. And so the play was over.

The farmers, however, were fain to carry the bear to the King's kitchen, to provide the Christmas roast.

At this time the whole Court fell ill of dysentery. Now I had to show what I could do. But I did not lose a single case. In the first place I gave them a *dosis rhabarbara*, and after this they had to drink great quantities of hot tea, etc., etc.

Now, as the Margrave was not willing to part with Schmieling, a second groom of the chambers, or I myself, would have been no use to him (and what is more I did not wish to accompany him to Italy); he most graciously proposed that I should accept the freedom of one of his cities on the further side of Küstrin, and live where I pleased.—But I bethought me and asked him only for his gracious recommendation to His Grand Ducal Highness, to grant me the privilege of

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KÜSTRIN.

From Martin Zeiller's "Topographia," (Frankfurt on the Main, engraved and published by Matthew Merian's Heirs, 1650.).

opening a Court barber's saloon in Halle.—This was done, and thereupon I rode back to Berlin.

I myself prepared a petition, as well as I could, for I was no longer willing to place my trust in any solicitor; for they had docked both me and my father of many guilders and ducats, in return for which they had given us so much wind. And so in this place I warn all men against them.

It seemed to me that my petition was fairly well drafted. I waited upon Privy Councillor Eberhard von Danckelmann, since he had come from Court, and must have encountered there a certain amount of hostility, as often happens to such gentry. To him I handed the petition as he was getting out of his coach, and I had to wait until he spoke to me, for such is the custom. So, the result of this blunder was that I received my *decem*; for he turned upon me furiously and thrust me back, so that I was impatient to draw up the petition again, and returned home in a state of despondency.

I complained of this to my old familiar friend, Master Pechtolt. He consoled me and told me that I was not the only sufferer, so that nothing had been lost; the tree did not fall at the first stroke; yet he wished to give me the advice that in this case I should mark time and wait upon events and look into the matter of three business connections of his mother-in-law's for the sake of what she might pay me; in the meantime my path would become plainer. This, as it afterwards proved, was good advice.

By performing this service I was able to seize various opportunities of different kinds, and to obtain some distinguished patients, who recommended me to others. In particular there was Master von Canitz, who was suffering from a serious disorder of the eyes; Commandant Hacke, with a bad foot; and more besides, whom I cured, and all of whom attested the same under their hand and seal. Master Councillor Horch was willing to pay me in hard cash, on account of his father, of whom I often had to write to him while he was in Switzerland, *item*; Privy Councillor Krug, who was still with Master Danckelmann, and had even decided upon the time when I should present my petition, because they were then available.

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VIEW OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG AT CÖLN ON THE SPREE.

From a water-colour sketch, *circa* 1690, by Johann Stridbeck the younger (1665–1714). The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

Fully nine months had gone by, when this came to pass. I gave the servant a guilder, and informed him that I had no further need of his services. When the Privy Councillor began to read the petition he burst out laughing, somewhat over-loudly. The other two did not question him, but Master Danckelmann of his own accord informed them: "This fellow is an army surgeon in this district, making application for a Court barber's place in Halle, and has drawn up the petition himself."

They both stated that they knew me well; I had recently had plenty of experience, and the barbers of Halle had refused to let me buy a barber's shop, but had driven me away.—"What!" said the Councillor, "Driven him away? Tell him that he must appear to-morrow morning at nine o'clock before the Electoral Chamber." How zealously I prayed that night, and how thankful I was when on the approach of nine I found myself with many others before the Electoral Chamber!

His Most Blessed Majesty came out with Master Danckelmann, informing each of those present of his decision; and to me he said: "You shall have what you are asking for." His Majesty having considered my case, I made him my most respectful obeisance.

A few days later I made an inquiry again in the Chancellery of Investitures, but my business was not yet completed. After some days I called again. My patent was then ready, and was indeed even finer than I myself could possibly have asked. It set forth that I received permission to conduct the business of a barber in Halle with all rights and privileges accorded to other and previous barbers, including those of teaching apprentices, and claimed the right to employ journeymen.—For this patent I had to pay thirteen thalers, and I had also to pay one thaler and fifteen groschen to a Councillor for Counsel's opinion, to the effect that all was correctly stated; in order to protect myself, and that I might, on my own application, undergo examination at the Council House, *in pleno*, at the hands of the barbers and two *Doctores*.

Whereupon I took my leave and set out for Halle on Christmas Eve. Just as I was about to turn into the street where my father lived some men approached me carrying a

corpse. When I questioned them, I learned that the body was that of the barber, Master Watzlau. I little thought that his widow would one day be my wife.

I went to my father's house, and at first all were cheerful. However, they had soon had enough of me, so that I rented in the Sow Market a bedroom and sitting-room, for thirty-two thalers yearly; so high were house rents in Halle.

Meanwhile I lodged for a few weeks with my father, and diligently solicited the Council to undertake my examination. The Council sent for the barbers fully three or four times over, but they did not appear. This was a great *faute* on their part. It would have been better had they had me examined in their presence and had asked me questions to which I could hardly have replied. For it is quite possible for one man to ask more questions than ten can ever answer. However, matters were so ordered that my examination was held in *contumaciam*, and the learned *Doctores* gave me the most excellent *attesta* of examination. The whole Council was present, and all of them were curious to hear both the barbers' side of the affair and my own. Many a one must have held his nose before he had done with my affairs! Nevertheless, I came away satisfied, and straightway hung out my basin.

And as used to be the case in those days, I, as something new, was greatly in resort, and found myself obliged to accept both journeymen and apprentices. This was in the year 1694.

The Corporation of Barbers received the strictest orders in this case, the infringement of which would result in the complete cancellation of all their privileges, should they molest me or fail to accept me. Whereupon they invited me to become a member of their guild, and appointed my hours of practice.

It was about this time that King Frederic's University was inaugurated in Halle. The whole place was so full of people, students and foreigners, that in three months I was able to save the whole of my house-rent.

Four triumphal arches in honour of the four saline springs were built in the market-place; the upper part of which

displayed the sun, or a flying horse, or Neptune, or the like. Through them, by an ingenious device, there was a continual flow of water, and the Prussian giants stood on either bank. Inside these triumphal arches were choirs, with all sorts of instruments, singers and drums and trumpets. Everything everywhere presented a magnificent appearance when the beloved and most blessed monarch drove into the city about noon in brilliant weather, for a dazzling star appeared to the greater glory of the King. Four fountains of wine had likewise been erected in the market-place. What magnificence! At four o'clock in the afternoon four rivers ran with wine, and everyone drank who could. Money, too, was scattered from overhead; *in summa*, Halle was full of light and gladness in the Lord, and there was no corner in the city which had not been visited and decorated.—But now the Lord hath afflicted us and brought us low by reason of the greatness of our sins. Lord have pity on us!

I had scarcely settled down with my household when a thunderclap of bad news reached me from Berlin. Namely, the Barbers' Guild there was not yet content but had gained access to Privy Councillor Fuchs; for Master von Danckelmann had undeservedly fallen into disgrace.

At the same time a Royal decree, under seal, was served upon me, in addition to the open letter, and I received the strictest orders that I must forthwith take in my barber's basin, but first and foremost, *praestitis praestandis*, must buy an hereditary barber's saloon, and above all must become reconciled with the Barbers' Guild, and in the contrary event must surrender all claims. "My God," I thought, "they are making my little bit of bread very sour and very hard to earn! Many a shabby rascal who asks for nothing more than to live upon his mother, eating and drinking, and who never learns anything harder than smoking a pipe of tobacco, behaves in his good fortune like a peasant in jack boots!

Well, what was I to do!—Already the barbers had news of this. It was fortunate for me that the order was served on me, and not on them!

I was very ill with catarrh, and could not see out of my eyes. However, there was nothing else to be done—I must

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INNER COURTYARD OF THE ELECTOR'S RESIDENCE IN CÖLN ON THE SPREE.

After a water-colour sketch, *circa* 1691, by Johann Stridbeck the younger (1665–1714).
The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

leave the city. I obtained a place on the express coach. It was raining and snowing, both together. I lay flat in the coach wrapped in my mantle and waited for the day and night to go by.

And now God comforted me greatly. I had a recommendation from Professor Gasser; but this was as good as useless; rather it was actually contrary to my interests, and aroused false hopes in me. I went to see Privy Councillor von Fuchs, but he gave me such a dressing that I gladly escaped from him. I had a petition drawn up, but remonstrance was in vain. All hope was lost! I sighed and prayed to God, my Help, Consolation and Counsel, and the Lord heard me from His holy throne.

Then, when I went the next morning to the War Office, in order to see how matters were going, I was informed that a strict decree had already been drafted against me. I went at once to my advocate, Master Katsche. He told me that if he were to give me any advice whatever, it would be, that I should go out to Privy Councillor von Fuchs' estate at Malchow. For he had spoken favourably of my cause, and was now at Malchow.

I set forth, although I did not know the way, and one could not open one's eyes for the snow and the wind. God alone knows what sighs were heard upon that road, what tears were shed. I was overtaken by the coach, in which I took a place out of sheer weariness, and fell asleep. When I woke up, after a violent jolt, I saw lying before me a village and a castle, which I took to be Malchow.

Descending from the coach I set off across country through the snow. Fortunately for me, the Privy Councillor was standing at a window; he recognized me as I approached, wading through the snow; and at once he ordered his servants to go down and ask me what I desired.

I was very submissive, and begged for leave to speak to the Councillor. I had to go upstairs to see him. You should have seen how humble and submissive I was in the presentation of my case: how hardly I had been treated; what it had cost me; and how the Barbers' Guild was driving me away, and refusing to allow me to obtain a barber's saloon, etc.

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BERLIN : KLOSTERSTRASSE AND KLOSTERKIRCHE.

After a water-colour sketch, 1690, by Johann Stridbeck the younger (1665–1714).
The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

The Privy Councillor looked at me; at last he said: "Yes, if I could have back the rescript which has already been published and sent out, it might still be possible to help you."—"But," I cried, delightedly, "here it is, your Excellency."—And I handed him the order with the seal still on it. "That is fortunate for you. How did you come by it?" I said: "It was brought to me by accident."—"Well," said he, "come to-morrow at nine o'clock to my house, and you shall have my opinion of your case." I wished him all the good things I could think of, and bowed my way out.

He ordered his manservant to take me to his inn across the road and give me food. The night I spent free of charge, when I had eaten and drunk, in the most comfortable bed.

Next morning the weather was better, and I returned to Berlin joyfully and praising God. I reached the city about nine o'clock.

The Councillor had just then some business to transact with other persons. When he saw me, he at once entrusted my affairs to his private *Secretarius*, and cancelled the harsh decree already published; he told me not to be in the least disturbed or incommoded, but to await the patent of His Most Gracious Majesty.

Here again was a hard smack for the Barbers' Guild. And they did not know whence it came. Thereafter they left me in peace for a time.

Meanwhile the Leipzig barber Straubel, who was living in the house of the Mansberg widow and her daughter (to whom the business belonged, which the barbers had previously been unwilling to sell me, and, without any legal right, had sold to Geissler, and themselves received the money) had instituted legal proceedings, and had won his case, so that the Barbers, to say nothing of the heavy costs of the trial, had to repay the daughter three hundred thalers for her barber's business (which she had supposed to be broken up and forgotten), and Geissler had at great expense to set up a new barber's saloon. Thus it was through me that they got their undeserved reward.

It may well be that my old employer, who had persecuted

me so sorely, found his conscience awakening when his time came to die of eating a red sausage served hot. For he had constantly cried out: "Och, where is Dietz? Och, where is Dietz? Send for him that I may give him my barber's business!" But it was too late, for no one now would listen to this; for the sake of their own interests they refused all knowledge of it; *in summa*, he died, and his wealth was all scattered, so that now his own daughter is forced to go begging, for all to see.

Since people saw that I was left in peace, and was successfully enlarging my barber's business (for where they had formerly said: "He will have to go back where he came from," they were now saying that only wicked people would rejoice in another's misfortunes!) I had at last time to go courting. For hitherto I had kept house for quite a long time without a wife; so that now all sorts of womenfolk began to act the matchmaker.

In particular, the baker's wife, Mistress Liesskau, acting as sponsor for me, insisted that I must marry Mistress Watzlau. While she had three children, she had also a fine house, her barber's business, and, when her father died, she would receive perhaps two thousand thalers more. I listened to all this with cold ears, as we say, and set my thoughts much higher. For I knew that I could obtain a Councillor's daughter.

In Eisleben the daughter of an Alderman, who was living with her guardian, was recommended to me as a wife. I rode over to Eisleben, and since I there saw her guardian, who kept a wineshop, I had a good opportunity of asking for a glass of wine, which the young woman had to bring me. I soon found an occasion of speaking to her, and of giving her to understand what were my intentions.

She did not then refuse my offer, but referred it to her guardian, the Sheriff, Master Grasshoff, who at last himself appeared and gave me his attention. He asked me where I came from; I withheld nothing from him, and informed him that I had heard of his ward, and was very eager to see her, because it was my intention to marry. He bethought himself; and they both decided to talk the matter over with a third person. He would be coming to Halle in a fortnight's

time, and would discuss the matter with their friend the sievemaker, and would then send for me. With that for the time I had to be content, and so rode home.

A fortnight later they came to see their friend the sievemaker, who (I do not know whether this was his idea of friendship), gave a very bad report of me and my parents, so that they very quickly rode home again.

This sievemaker was afterwards accused of immorality with boys, which cost him his whole fortune, whereafter he died.

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OF MY MARRIAGE

The good God may so have ordained it, that I, after so many fine opportunities and alternatives, was to maintain a poor widow with three small and as yet uneducated children, whom it fell to me to bring up. For although I had had many opportunities, which should have been profitable enough, I was at last captured by the women. My aforementioned sponsor lost no opportunity of singing the praises of Mistress Watzlau. She had undoubtedly set the scene when she one day invited me into her garden. There was the widow referred to, with whom I readily got into conversation. And she, over a glass of wine, so far ensnared me that the matter was settled once and for all. *N.B.*—The moral of which is: One should look before one leaps; and also, when a woman does the courting the match seldom turns out well. They say the nightingale has a most beautiful song, but is a foolish bird, and allows itself easily to be caught.

And so it was with me. For I gave her a large locket, but she gave me only a ring. Thereby I was bound in a slavery from which I would very gladly have escaped when I learned the woman's actual circumstances. But this she absolutely would not hear of. Strangely enough, when I told my father of this, he asked: "What are you going to do with an ill-tempered woman and her children? What profit there is is not hers, but the children's, and there are many debts, and she has bad, quarrelsome brothers and sisters and friends."—And all that he said was true: but it was too late. I delayed the wedding as long as I could, and would rather have remained as I was; and it had, indeed, been better had I done so.

But now, alas! I received advice from every side, and the matter was laid before me in the rosiest colours. Even my father himself now said: "What do you think to do

now? The thing is done; you won't get away from her, or avoid marrying her; your best hope is in God; perhaps matters will improve, or perhaps she will not live long."—But all these calculations miscarried.

Yet at first she spoke to me affectionately, caressed me, and made excellent proposals, as that she would make everything over to me by means of a marriage settlement. And on the children she wished to settle a given sum of their father's large portion, as they must come first.

I, too, wished the marriage settlement to be in legal shape before the wedding. But a hundred excuses were advanced by her guardian, Dr. de Wedig, and it was continually postponed from one day to another. At last, after numerous promises, it was postponed until just after the wedding. And there I was at last, thoroughly caught. This was on the 3rd September, in the year 1694.

In the meanwhile the wedding was arranged, and I had the banns of marriage published. The wedding day approached (and it was a day of an unlucky conjunction: for the moon stood in the house of the Scorpion and *Saturnus* with *Mercurius* was in the sextile aspect). When I looked at the calendar I was startled; yet, thought I, one must trust more fully in God; for there was not a groschen of money, and I had been obliged some five or six weeks previously to get some meal and bread into the house; I had also been attending to the customers myself, or they would have left us entirely; *summa*, everything depended on me and my money. And the whole wedding had to be arranged at my expense; moreover, my father sent me six hares, which I was to keep in a cellar; but my betrothed thought it would be better to hang them in a draught in the house, and that it would show people that we lived in style if we had hares in the house. Yet that very day a beggar came that way and knocked down the whole six and was kind enough to take them all away with him, so we had no hares, and had to send into the city for them and pay the highest price. That was one thing. Then I, too, wanted to make a show of good living, and had invited a baron, a count, two professors, some members of the Council, and some priests and other distinguished persons; and from many of these I received

from six to eight thalers as a present, but from some I received, as a mark of their friendship, sixteen groschen! However, I was contented, and danced attendance upon them at table; but my bride sat at table in her finest clothes.

The wedding was barely over when there were signs of bad weather. I had not behaved properly to this one and that one of her friends, and had not shown them sufficient attention!—Her father, in whose presence she had belittled me, was good enough to say that the house was his, and he meant to turn me out of it, and would not rest until he had driven me out of doors.—The sister, Mistress Hans-Jochim, declared that she wanted the hundred and fifty thalers that were owing to her. At the same time the other sister, Mistress Schüre, wanted her note for a hundred thalers.—They had also stirred up the apothecary, who wanted twenty-six thalers for his medicine; and I know not what else was required of me!

I laughed at this and saw that I had been defrauded. The wife was anxious and distressed and turned to me with pleasant words. I must come to their aid!—for she knew that I had brought nine hundred thalers in cash with me. I stepped in and paid all that was owing.

As the house was extremely rickety, and the ends of the joists were all rotted (thanks to false economy, for none of the owners had ever seen to the roof, so that one might well have feared that it would sooner or later collapse in a moment), I took the responsibility upon me and got in fresh rafters and repaired the house, while erecting fresh wings in the court-yard, right and left; for the old building was still threatening to collapse, and the neighbours urged me to do so. *Summa:* Little by little I built fourteen hundred thalers into the old house, and I should have broken my neck over it, had not God granted me His special protection and in His mercy most marvellously preserved me. For while the buildings at the back were being run up above the kitchen, and a number of hewn stones for the walls were still piled upon the ground, I was running about upstairs,—as was my custom—and the plank I was treading on was old and brittle, and suddenly broke; and I fell to the ground from a height of three storeys. To this hour I do not know how I came to be sitting crosswise

on a rafter; for if I had fallen all the way on to the stones my bones could not have remained unbroken.

In praise of God I inscribed a verse, which may still be seen: "Nevertheless I still remain, oh, Lord God of truth, for Thou helpest me in all my need, so that I did not here come by a violent death, in shame and scorn." There was also an old stable in the courtyard, wherein stood a mangle. This the wife absolutely refused to have removed, because the house was not as yet conveyed to me. The stable was always a cause of doubt to me, because it was built close against Fischer's barn, which stood behind our house, obliquely before the courtyard, for which reason no sunlight could enter. And it seemed to me that if ever a fire were to break out in the stable and in Fischer's barn, as afterwards really happened, there would be no saving my house.—But I did the whole thing most ingeniously, sawing off a number of old uprights in absolute secrecy, and one windy day, by pulling on a long rope, I brought the whole rubbishy building down in a heap. My wife, however, could hardly believe that the stable had really fallen in. But it was well that it had done so, as will be seen.

Now I had paid all debts, had built on to and improved the house, and was maintaining my wife with her children, and there was no one who could ask me for repayment of a single penny. However, in the house itself I could do little, for *bis dato* it had never yet been conveyed to me, so that my wife received the rent. And I, as townsman without a house, had to pay twenty-six groschen. This disgusted me greatly, and I could not rest, day or night. It vexed me so that I became like a shadow, and there was nothing in which I could take pleasure. And this caused my wife and her friends the greatest joy; now I might die and disappear off the face of the earth as soon as I liked. There was no compassion looked for in that quarter, no affection, no gratitude. And with such a woman I had to share my bed, and give way before her children, and wait (when she and her maid had to see to matters in the mill, or something concerning her relatives, whom she was constantly visiting) until many a time from sheer impatience I laid about me with my stick. And in the end I might have struck someone their

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HALLE : THE MARKET-PLACE AND MARIENKIRCHE.

After an oil painting of the end of the seventeenth century. The original is in the City Museum.

deathblow and should have been accused of murder !—Entirely without help I put an end to this lamentable state of affairs, and at night I heard voices calling, quite plain and loud: "It is all over!" But it was not all over yet; indeed, matters were only just beginning to take a turn for the better!

For, although in the marriage settlement as drafted the house (or so much of it as was really hers) was actually conveyed to me *loco dotis*, and the debts and costs of building were credited to me, instead of a cash payment, as purchase money, yet I was always hearing: "It's mine and my children's," until at last I discovered how the advocate had tricked me: in that only the fourth part of the house was my wife's.

Now what was I to do? For a time I was in a dilemma; of two evils I had to choose one. I commenced proceedings in the baronial court in respect of the money expended, the costs of building, with *alimenta* for the children, and refused any longer to leave matters thus *in communione*. There was a loss for the hangman! And they had all longed for me to die! They used to say, in the hearing of my own servants, that a mad dog does not run about for more than nine days, and that they would never rest until they had turned me out of the house !—*N.B.* And I, praise God! am still living, while they are all dead; while they all depended upon me to help their wives and children.

My aged father-in-law took the children away at once to his own house. But as they received no attention there they became infested with lice and virulent scabs. Although they were cured by means of an ointment, one of the children died.

Since this child's share now fell to my wife, she conceived the wicked design that everything should go to meet the cost of the funeral, so that not a penny would be left. For this reason her three-year-old child, *item* the womenfolk and maidservants, were dressed in taffeta and costly laces.

When I learned this (since the mother had no knowledge of the fact that the child had died) I represented the matter to the Council, which immediately ordered that the child

should be sent to its mother's house for the funeral. But as she was stubborn and absolutely refused to take any steps, the watch had to do what was necessary. This made a great sensation.

However, I had the child buried with the proper rites, which cost me twenty-six thalers.

The third child, which was still at its mother's breast, was not likely to derive benefit from all this anxiety and anger on the part of the mother. Through this it contracted a lingering disease, so that it spent three weeks in continual wailing, and then died.

Then these people became absolutely insane with fury against me. My brother-in-law tried to run me through with a naked sword behind the table at the Barbers' Guild; but he was restrained in time.

In the meantime my father-in-law, with my wife's trustees, had been legally commanded within fourteen days to place me *ex communione*, and to repay my financial outlay, or to accept execution, valuation, and the sheriff's auction.

These trustees of hers had appropriated some silver cups and other things of the kind, in the division of the goods, for the children; which they sold at the request of my wife's father and her friends, and assigned to me at the time of the trial, together with letters of protest of some eight or nine pages! However, this was of no avail; they were included in the valuation. This dragged on interminably; but at last the house was offered for sale.

I at once bid a thousand thalers in hard cash. For some time that was not enough for them. They sent a number of Jews to the house to get these things at the sale. But no one would meddle or intervene in the matter. Since I could find no better purchaser, they threw off their wolf's coat, exchanging it for that of the fox; and they persuaded me, through their clever and crafty advocate, Licenciate Ruloff, to come to terms with them. It was also agreed that my father-in-law, Georg Schober, who was likewise the guardian of the children, should no longer be allowed to retain the house for the thousand thalers which had been offered for it; but that I should come to an agreement with my wife, and should

pay for my step-daughter's education until her fourteenth year, and that on her marriage I should give her a hundred thalers in addition to that which might come to her and to any future children from the barber's saloon.

I agreed to this, and was delighted that I had lost nothing more than money and quiet sleep.

In the meantime my wife was pregnant, and not a day passed but she quarrelled with her brothers and sisters. For this reason I entreated her and warned her that she should remain at home and look after her own household; for she was extremely unwilling that I should beget children who would share in her inheritance.

But my wife would not obey me, and was running to and fro all the day. But most of the time, in the evening, she used to quarrel with her father, and they all but turned one another out of the house. My wife was running home in a state of gloomy ferocity, and in the Schmeerstrasse, by the sign of the "Golden Rock," she tripped over the kennel and a plank, and, falling, rolled over and over. Of this, however, she told me nothing, but merely complained of pain. I straightway sent for the midwife, and all went well. The labour pains, which were very violent, lasted till the third day. I therefore asked the women whom I had allowed them to call in—such as the worthy Mistress Doctor Knaut and the President of the Council Zeising: why matters were taking so long—surely all was not well?—The womenfolk said: "Master Dietz, we could not save him; the child is dead; and if you wish to save your wife's life you must send for Master Dorn, who removes the embryo." I was greatly shocked, and did not know what to do. Nevertheless, I made up my mind, and said: "If it is only a question of being able and willing to do what Dorn can do, that I can do also."

But the women flung their arms round my neck, and entreated me: I must make haste or it would soon be all over with my wife.

I laid my hand upon my wife, and sought by exploration to discover how the foetus lay. It was situated with the left arm and armpit the wrong way round. And on account of the wind which is always found in dead children, it was

impossible to turn or to move it. Already they had almost torn the arm off. I took a small sharp knife, adapted to this purpose, in my right hand, under my forefinger, having previously made all slippery with warm oil and beer, and therewith forced my way over the foetus and opened the breast and abdomen. Thus the wind escaped, and the foetus, having shrunken, was easily removed.

Now there lay before me my first-born son, sacrificed before he left his mother's womb, and I had dabbled my hands in his blood. Thou alone, oh Almighty God, Thou knowest what I then felt!

Yet they were all joyful that the woman was saved, and what with diligent anointing and washing and medical treatment I cured her completely. But subsequently I was ill repaid for my care; and yet I had escaped the misery of an evil conscience.

Directly after this *actus* came her brothers and sisters and friends (who had made ready for the event) and in particular Mistress Hans-Jochim, who, instead of consolation, uttered the coarsest reproaches. However, I made short work of her, and seized her by the arm, in order to turn her out, and drove her by sheer force, willy-nilly, out of the room and the house. And a dignified appearance she presented! for on account of the gout (*podagra*) she was wearing large felt slippers. Hence all manner of reproaches and insults, even though I had passed the matter over. So I was obliged to endure in silence.

My wife, shortly after the above incidents, was again brought to bed, with a daughter, who lived three years, and died of a wasting fever. She was a delightful child, very clever, but also very self-willed. If she wanted to have anything she did not get it, but would be beaten with a switch, and when her temper was at its height they would give her to drink. This was the cause of her death.

And, indeed, I may confess that she did not receive much attention; for she was not much at home, and when she was there she played the truant. As for me, I might protest as much as I pleased. On one occasion the child fell into the manhole of the cellar, and was wedged there under her

armpits, so that I had to drag her out, when she had been stuck there for some considerable time. On another occasion she was lost for a whole day, until she knocked at my parents' door; for the old people were very fond of her. But their affection for her did her yet further harm, for they gave her wine, brandy, and anything she fancied. In particular, she was very fond of kippers.

After this I brought two *doctores* to see her: Privy Councillors Hoffmann and Stahl. But human help was of no avail; she died. And as I walked beside her coffin, it was as though a piece had been torn from my heart. For there was no hope of further children. Moreover, I could not wish for more. For my wife could not keep even this blessed child quiet, because there was no more milk for her.

On one occasion we wanted to compel the flow of milk, and I prescribed a milk powder,* and the apprentice was sent to fetch it from the apothecary's. Now amongst other ingredients I had prescribed *semen tiliae*, but the apothecary's apprentice replaced this by *grana tilli*, which is a violent, burning, deadly poison.

I had ordered the medicine to be boiled in milk, but the apprentice wanted to taste it, and swallowed a spoonful. He then came rushing into the barber's shop, like a madman, shouting: "God have pity on me! I shall die; it's burning me, it's burning!" and he shut his mouth tight.—I asked him what he had been doing?—Thereupon he told me, so I made him continually drink cold water, and presently he was purged almost to death.

At this my wife too began to cry: "Yes, yes, that was meant for me; he wanted to give me that, so as to kill me, and be rid of me!"—And she stuck to this tale, and alleged all over the city, and afterwards in the Consistorium, that I was trying to kill her!

But God forbid that I should ever prepare for myself so bad a conscience, or do as I was once advised to do (when complaining of my wife) by a distinguished Councillor, who told me that I ought to do as the grocer S—— had done; I could easily make some pills which would rid me of this wicked woman.—But I said, "No, it is better to suffer

here than to have a bad conscience."—Another barber also gave me a piece of advice: to kill the woman in such a way that no one would know what had happened. But I bore in mind and obeyed the teaching of the Catholics, who believe

AN APOTHECARY'S SHOP.

From Thumen's "Haus- Feld- Arznei- Koch- Kunst- und Wunderbuch" (1694).

that he who has a bad wife in this world shall not come into danger of hell fire.

I had barely been able to enjoy a little quiet, and to put

matters in order, when on the 15th of March, 1703, about two o'clock in the morning (as I had already anticipated, when arranging for the pulling down of the stable) there was an alarming smell of fire in the Fischers' barn and stable. For the Fischers had intended to set out for Eilenburg, at an early hour, and might have gone too near the straw or the fodder with a light, and found themselves unable to put it out; but they had already cleared everything out when they knocked upon the window of my chamber, overlooking the lane, shouting: "Master Dietz, Master Dietz, there is a fire in your courtyard!" I rushed out in my shirt. When I opened the back door I could not stand the heat, so I, too, ran into the lane and began to shout for help. For no one as yet knew of the fire, as the watchman was unable to see the flames because of the houses, until the upper storey was alight. I roused my servants, and secured my modest savings, and, with my nanny-goat on a leash, I went round to my father's, still shouting: "Fire! Fire!" for I could not get my servants to wake up.

In the meantime the fire got the upper hand. Everything in my house was spoilt; and the two wings at the back were all in a blaze, even to the straw in the beds. My two lusty apprentices dragged everything into a cellar which had an iron door.

At last the people began to gather round me, but they were mere Strohhöfer and no genuine Halloren.* They scrambled up on the roofs with wet sacks, squirts and buckets. I lit a great number of lights and set them bringing water. But as I came into the passage and saw that terrible fire, and that everything would be destroyed, I said aloud: "Now, O Lord, Thou gavest to me, and it is now Thy will to take away; Thy will be done; praise and glory to Thy holy Name!" —At that very moment it was as though the flames had been seized by a mighty hand and flung back, away from my house. *N.B.* And since God is a God of order and does nothing without orderly ways and means, so it happened here that the two doors, to right and left, of the "Golden Wheel" flew open, so that the flames were driven through them by the rushing wind (such as always blows when there is a fire) back toward the garden, and my premises were

saved.—At the very last the straw downstairs was burning violently in secret, but this, too, was extinguished.

As I myself was no longer troubled, I hastened to the help of my neighbour, whose outhouses on either side were blazing. I sent for some great hooks, my chief endeavour being to push and pull the gables and walls into the fire; which smothered the flames most excellently. At the same time, all those who could threw earth and sand into the fire. This was better than water, as experience here showed, so that through the mercy of God the fire was extinguished.

Only Fischer the carrier had everything burnt, while a few neighbours had their outhouses destroyed.

There was in that quarter of the city a godless man, the son of a serf, Paul Döhring, who came on the following day to the site of the fire and shouted: "That the Devil hadn't taken everything yet," etc.—But he died a terrible death, in a state of destitution.

Here, perhaps, I may remark that if I had not pulled down the old stable (as already described) in good time, I should have been entirely burnt out, for nothing could have been done to prevent the fire from spreading from Fischer's premises to mine, as my stable was built close to his.—Many people were required to give sworn evidence in respect of the fire; and I was among them. When was it first detected? But Fischer and his servants swore lustily that they knew nothing of the matter. Now they are all dead, and were ruined shortly after these events.

After the fire this Daniel Fischer wanted to build up his house again; he intended, indeed, to build another stable and granary; for he owned two hides of arable soil. However, the Government forbade him to do so; he was not to build a granary.

So he said: "What good is the land to me, if I cannot build a granary? I would rather sell it."—At first I had no desire to buy the land, but my wife having considered the matter, said that I should not have such a splendid opportunity twice in a lifetime.—I too considered the matter, and came to the conclusion that a wife's advice is not always to be disregarded. In the end I bought the property as it

stood, for 723 thalers in cash, including the site of the house, the water-supply, a garden and a kiln. This was in the year 1704.

I was short of this sum by a hundred thalers. I remembered that the worthy Master Councillor Dreissig, at Caunitz's wedding, where I kept his plate well filled, had solemnly promised to help me if ever I stood in need of help. I therefore went to see him, and spoke to him of the matter. —But he asked me why I wanted the money? "Ah, no!" he said: "he could not lend money on a promissory note; but if I had a surety?" I then reminded him of his promise; but he said he had forgotten that long ago. If only I had a security!—I told him that I had still a few old chamber-pots, if he would care to have them?—"Get out, get out!" was his reply.—There is no relying upon promises in this world.

I now went to Master Alexander Drachstädt. He looked down from his barred window and asked what I wanted? I told him, "Money, a hundred thalers!"—"Why," said he, "who will lend this fellow any money? He has nothing of his own; it is all his wife's; let him bring her here." I was sorely derided by my wife and her servants; but I took her with me, and was now told that he had no money. I then bethought me of my cousin Heinrich at Neumarkt. He gave me the money in a moment.

Therewith I paid for the site upon which the fire had occurred, and had the purchase confirmed, without anyone realizing its importance. This was a clever trick, for if I had continued to temporize I should have made nothing out of it. For my neighbours all wanted the land, in order to share it out, as it would have suited all of them; in particular Master Hoffmann, of the "Guldenun Rade," who was endeavouring to justify a prior claim, because thirty years previously his inn had been deprived of the right of priority by the chairman of the Council, Lindtner, with the consent of the Sovereign; while on the other hand Johann Händel, the mat-maker, seized upon the kiln, which was sold separately from the house. Also I had for three years been prosecuting two important lawsuits and *inhibitiones*, which cost me a round two hundred thalers, but the other side had to pay fully six hundred; and they were raising money by

mortgaging their houses. They had an advocate, by name Doctor Gerbt. The chief Magistrate Nicolai (whom I used to shave at the Moritz-Kirche, and to whom I complained of the affair) sent for this doctor and appealed to his conscience, telling him that it was not right, it was inexcusable, to induce neighbours and friends to undertake such protracted litigations, and to delay matters; for I wanted to recover the money that I had spent in litigation; since the women gave me no peace, and I was for ever being constrained to undertake further litigation for my wife, and to plead in person.

But this Dr. Gerbt, by dint of reprimanding scoundrels and gallows-birds, had become so arrogant that he did not hesitate to declare that Hoffmann should receive the building site, but I should never see a penny again!

However, matters turned out quite differently, and my right was recognized by the Government, which itself took over the lawsuit and (in accordance with my request) ordered Hoffmann to repay me the money, with all costs, within a fortnight, or to withdraw from the case *sub poena praeclusionis.* He would thus be obliged to declare himself. But he did not do so, nor did he wish to do so, for he had no money, and was only endeavouring to squeeze something out of me.

Nevertheless I won the third case against this Hoffmann. For the Queen of Portugal* was passing through the town, and the whole body of citizens were to walk in procession; and I, too, among them, as lance-corporal of the ward, under this Hoffmann, who was captain.

It rained all day, and continued to rain until one o'clock of the following morning, when nearly all the townsmen were crowding through St. Nicolas' Gate. Hoffmann and his companions had for the most part got drunk at Christel Glaser's. I was innocently passing that way, and wanted to see what was happening, as all the townsmen were crowding through the gate. At the gate they made room for me as though I, too, had wished to pass through it. Hoffmann and his friends came up and found this an opportunity to revenge themselves upon me. They rushed at me, shouting: "Knock him down, knock him down! We'll make cat's meat of him! Look at the rebel, the hypocrite!"—It was all I

could do to parry their blows; and I called those about me to witness that I was being falsely accused. The next day I retained Dr. Dürfeldt, who was born with only one hand, and laid an accusation against these three. I also had four witnesses examined. This stirred up the whole Council and all the leading people and superior officers; but to no purpose. Kŏnig, the Mining Director, at last pronounced this decision: the citizens were not mercenary soldiers, and on that account were not very strictly disciplined; much less were they to be treated with words of abuse and blows; for which reason those persons against whom I had brought my accusation had behaved to me in an unseemly and excessive fashion, and would be fined the sum of five marks and ordered to pay all costs, and to make me an apology, and convey to me an expression of their esteem.—And this they had to do, and to pay me six-and-twenty thalers in costs.

But every day I had to entertain my Dr. Dürfeldt, and he did not come alone, but brought Master Höring with him! I was getting very tired of this, and said to him: "Now Master Doctor, when will this really come to an end? It has been going on now for three years, and we are still dealing with evidence for and against! We might continue thus for another ten years." "What," said he, "what, Master Dietz! Did you think to bring it to an end so soon? Why, my studies cost me three thousand thalers! I must at least get some of that back! Don't be anxious: you will win your case."—But I made an end of the matter, and offered (as already stated) to withdraw from the case on repayment of my purchase money and expenses. And this was a very prudent step. And I should like here to warn everybody against entering upon a lawsuit, for each Latin word cost me, as the farmer said, a hundred thalers. For I was once compelled to undertake seven lawsuits at one time, and won them all.

It was in the midst of all this that I had the very worst quarrel with my own wife. For when I bethought me that it might be best to fall in with her way of thinking, the Devil himself broke loose.

I had been to the fair at Leipzig, and amongst other things had bought a fox-pelt. As it seemed a suitable occasion I wanted to beat the moth out of it in the house. The students amused themselves for a while, and laid hold of the skin; and so did my wife. I had a thin switch for beating it, and said, jestingly: "I shall go fishing in my lord's fishpond," and gave each of them a little tap on the hand, and I did the same to my wife. This annoyed her, and she flew into a rage with me, and seized the stick, which she broke in pieces, and beat me about the head with the broken pieces. I asked her: "Are you beating me in earnest?" "Yes, I am, I am," said she; "Godless creature that you are, why did you beat me?" As she would not cease beating me I took the skin and threw it over her, and took another stick in my hand and gave the skin a thorough beating on her.—This caused a great deal of laughter, which infuriated her even more. She at once ran off to see her friends, and engaged an advocate and laid an accusation against me before the Consistorium, and was going to get a divorce and an extremely handsome alimony. But nothing came of it all.

In the meantime I learned that her father, persuaded by her and the others, and especially by Mistress Schür, had brought with him from Erfurt a clever advocate in order to draw up a deed of gift, by which all his money and property was made over to his other children and grandchildren, but my wife—so that I should inherit nothing through her—was completely excluded, as though she had been no child of his, so that she would not receive a penny. (Nevertheless, when he died she spent the whole night doing sums and counting money, and he must have left a very fair amount!) I complained of this to Master Mine-Director König, and suggested that I should lodge a protest while he was still alive. But he, meaning well by me, said: "What do you expect to do? I warn you that you won't get a penny by that means; it is a malicious conspiracy. Hold on to what you have and God be with you! It is true that you are being unjustly treated, but God can and will bless you for it at some other time."—*N.B.* And this did really come to pass, for afterwards God blessed me in such marvellous fashion that I

myself did not know how it came about. But in particular the dreadful fire must have helped; and it also gave me light and sunshine, for which I had previously longed so greatly, partly in order that I might have a garden.—And indeed it has been my experience that those who obtain an unrighteous inheritance find it no blessing, but their undoing; as came to pass in this instance also, and some of these people afterwards had to appeal to me for help.

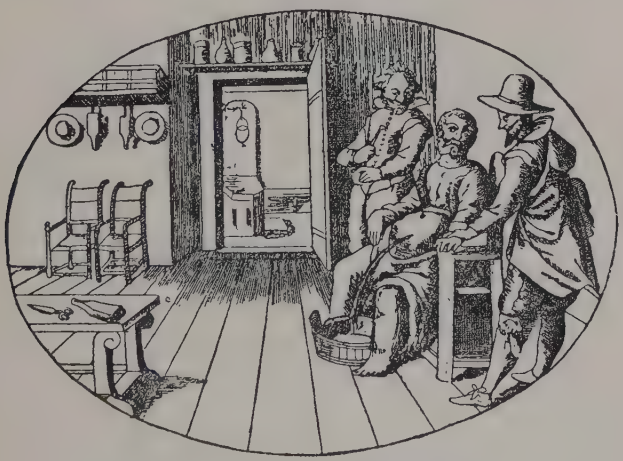
But in the end my father-in-law, Master Schober, fell grievously sick; for he was now eighty-six years of age. When I heard of this (for they never told me of it) I took heart, not wishing to let him die unreconciled. For they had calumniated me to him in a shocking manner, and had devised all manner of malicious inventions.

I entered his room before anybody was aware of it. He was startled, but finally held out his hand. I sat before him on his bed, and regretfully explained to him how, though perfectly innocent, I had been slandered in his hearing and compelled to put up with it. At last he understood that he had been listening to falsehoods, for he began to weep, saying: "Well, son-in-law, the thing is done; you and I have both been defrauded; I would willingly put matters right, but I cannot; they have tied matters up so tight with the Erfurt lawyer (and here he beat his hands together); I have now nothing left save the blessing which God will bestow upon you!"—With this he raised his right hand above my head and began in a loud voice: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace. Amen." And thereupon we both wept. I took my leave of him, and never saw him again.

And this was my true inheritance,—which—may God be praised!—blessed me ten times more than what they robbed me of could have done.

When he lay dying I wanted to be present at the last Communion, but they slammed the door in my face. I thought I might at least get myself a complete suit of mourning, but no, never in this world! No: I was done out of it by a trick. For just as I was shaving the merchant Nebelthau * about

that time, my wife, who was on the watch, came into the shop: "Neighbour," she said, "I want you just to let my husband select what he wants for mourning."—The merchant, who afterwards became bankrupt, and by great misfortune lost five hundred thalers of my money, straightway set before me his best stuffs and mourning garments, for me to choose from. I chose a medium quality, as was my wont. The cloth was cut off and sent to the tailor. I attended the funeral with the rest, but at the supper no one would take any notice of me, for which reason I went home. A long time after this the merchant sent me an account for twenty-six thalers, of which my wife paid ten thalers; but the rest I myself



TAPPING A DROPSICAL PATIENT.

From a copperplate engraving of the end of the sixteenth century.

was forced to pay! For she gave out that she and her daughter had received only thirty thalers, and she was absolutely cut out of the inheritance.—This was in the year 1705.

A little later Mistress Hans-Jochim also fell ill of the dropsy, just as her lord and master had done. She suffered greatly, and her case was hopeless. As there had been a great deal of bitterness and ill-feeling between us, I went to see her now and again, in order to make up our quarrel. But I could not

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obtain an interview, as she had forbidden anything of the kind, and so both of them passed away.

Her sickness was due to her excessive drinking of tea and coffee. I had seen other examples of this malady in highly placed persons, and had warned them; but they merely laughed at me and said "A doctor ought to know better than that!"—But my experience was that they died of it sooner or later.

At this time died likewise my wife's mother-in-law by her first husband, old Mistress Watzlau, whose demands had caused me much vexation; for my wife used to convey to her privately much of what I had killed for the use of the household. In this connection I should never again advise a man to marry into a large family, with sisters-in-law and other dependents, for no good ever comes of it!

My wife was continually running off to her friends, who gave her all sorts of bad advice as regards myself, and were also continually offering her the best of food and drink, or tea and coffee. Consequently she disdained my diet, and no longer came to meals! And now there was a wedding, and now a christening; now some one fell ill or some such matter. She was continually receiving invitations, and would stay away from the house till eleven or twelve o'clock, or she did not come home all night. Apart from what it was incumbent upon me to give her in respect of christening parties and weddings, I wanted to have peace. And yet from morning to night I had to listen to all sorts of reproaches, and was proclaimed by her to be the most vexatious devil of stinginess and the most godless husband under the sun. She did this with a particular purpose, because she was already an old woman, and thought when her time came to die I should receive nothing; and she did not grudge anyone else the property!—And I was forced to understand that this was done as an accusation of wickedness; it was done to prejudice people against me.

I was once deploring my lot (for I no longer knew which way to turn under such circumstances) to a customer learned in the law, whom I was about to shave; he told me that

since my wife absolutely refused to restrain herself, or to give me a helping hand, I ought for once to give her a sound flogging; though for that matter castigation was really too mild a course when a wife refused to place a check upon her words. I often warned her in this connection that she had best not go too far, and that she must not deprive me of my rest at night by staying out so late; for by day I had to work until I was weary, and to run hither and thither. Her reply was that she went to see her children and her friends, and not to any places of ill-repute.—So that was of no avail.

The very next evening she was out until midnight or thereabouts. At last she came, accompanied by two menservants.

AMPUTATING A LEG.

From a copperplate engraving of the end of the sixteenth century.

When she had vigorously knocked upon the door she bade them good-night. But I, in the darkness, silently opened the door (to which she was accustomed) and closed it again, and proceeded to give her a thorough trouncing! Then there were such cries of murder in the house that everybody came running in. I, however, promptly jumped into my bed.

And then it was: "But what has happened to you, Mistress Dietz?" For they saw that there was no one with her, and that the house was locked up.—"The scoundrel

the thief, the murderer! it's my husband who has beaten me so unmercifully!"—I, on hearing this, jumped out of bed: "What's that you say? Not I, but the wandering thing that haunts folk in the night has done it! I call you to witness, I have warned you of it!"—But she would not listen to my admonition, but went out again and rushed round to the tavern whence she had come.

On the following day all her advisers met together and engaged a scoundrelly lawyer, and had her examined by my worthy colleague, Master Schwender, who gave her a written certificate as though she had been set upon by assassins; which was a falsehood.

As a result of the shocking accusation inspired by her and sent to me in writing, we were summoned before the Consistorium. Meanwhile she no longer entered the house. And I perforce had to cook and do everything for two journeymen, two apprentices and a maid, and at the same time practise my profession. I had to help in the difficult building operations. I can truthfully say that I had to take the whole burden on my back, so that only to think of my wretchedness in those days makes the tears stream down my cheeks.

Dr. Dürfeldt, who had previously acted for me, they now employed against me. I myself engaged the Licentiate Bertram. At the same time Schoolmaster Luppens had to appear before the court with his wife.

These two advocates sat opposite one another. As for us we both of us looked fools. For as the *species facti* was read out there was an outburst of laughter as though the court were fit to split its sides. The two advocates became very angry with one another. In particular Licentiate Bertram stamped with his feet to emphasize his words, so that it was more like a play than real life. But when we had to leave the court the two lawyers were the best friends in the world, and were laughing over the whole affair, and at their excellent acting. My clever, wideawake wife saw very well that the money which she had spent was lost, and that she would not get much by her case. For this reason she once more tried flattery, and told an acquaintance of mine, who was certain to repeat it to me, that it was a great pity about me, that I was such an excellent man when compared with

others, but I had such crazy ideas.—Short of the Devil himself, I think anybody would have had crazy ideas in his head under such circumstances!

We were called in again for the decision of the court, which was: That my wife was to stay at home day and night, was to bear herself in a fitting manner toward her husband and to be his helpmeet, and to undertake nothing further against his will; to keep out of beer-houses, and in all things to prove herself a virtuous Christian wife; but that the husband must have patience, as with the weaker vessel. And that he must not chastise her hastily nor without due cause. The first to give further cause of dispute would be informed of his or her penalty. For the present we must try once more to live together in peace and my wife must return home. In the meantime the divorce, as matters had turned out, would not be granted.—And in this fashion our case was dismissed at least three times. But there is no telling what it cost me, for it usually fell out that with fair seeming words she wheedled the whole of the expenses out of me afterwards.

On this occasion also we returned home together. And people said: "Good people, cherish one another; it would be better to save your money and get with it something worth having; and now eat a carp and drink a jug of wine to your new wedding-day!"—I did as they bid me; I straightway bought a carp and sent for wine; and for a time all went well again.

In the summer, when we had occasion to go into the garden and pass by the gaping walls of an old barn, as late as eleven or twelve o'clock at night, we constantly heard a loud harsh groaning like the moaning of a sick man. I used to say to my wife: "Listen! what is that?"—I also sent over to Jonas Herold, whose property the barn was, asking him whether there was anyone inside who was ill?—However, he sent back word that he knew nothing about the matter; for the barn had not been used or opened for three years.

Next time I heard this groaning I said to my wife: "There is something shut up in there; I shall have to buy the barn."

So next day I went to Herold and bought the barn * for two hundred and fifty thalers; for after all it was built of good servicable wood, and had a tiled roof. With this I continued my building operations; for I had pledged myself to the *publico* under a yearly penalty of twenty thalers to build a habitable dwelling on the site of the fire.

I rode over to Naumburg and bought some eighty thalers' worth of wood. I drew up my own plans for the house, broke up the barn, together with the kiln, myself, with the help of day labourers and my apprentices, and by the help and mercy of God I built two houses there. When I was having the cellar dug, especially under Zimmermann's house, where the old barn had stood, I was employing a day labourer, his wife, his daughter, and his son.

As at that time I was very busy in my profession, and constantly called away, I gave my wife instructions always to be at hand, for I felt perfectly certain that there must be something buried there—but my wife went gadding off and did not do a thing that I had told her. In the meanwhile the people had found the hiding-place, had taken out what was in it, and had all gone off together.

When I came home from Baron von Enden's, this was the first place I went to, but there was no one there. When I asked: "Where are the work-people gone?" the answer was, as is usual in such cases: "I don't know."—I clambered down into the pit and immediately found the hiding-place, which had been hollowed out of the wall like a great pot with handles, as one could see quite plainly. I kept a constant look-out for them, in case they should come back. But they were gone, gone for good, like water down a drain! They had left the city then and there, leaving their wages behind them, but whither no one knew.

This provided matter for fresh disputes with my wife, in which she was encouraged by the maid; she, apart from this, was a wanton hussy, who had been kept by a student of theology, W——, who had now become a clergyman by the help of his *patronos*. This maid did everything she could to oppose me, merely to lead me on, and did all she could to hinder the building. As for me, I did not wish to have any

disputes with her; moreover, the matter began to be noticed. I complained of her to my father, who gave me the laconic advice to pay her wages and send her away.

This I did, about eight o'clock Thursday. Just as my wife and the servants were going to church, I placed the amount of her wages on a table, and told her: "Since you are of no use to me, here are your wages, and now go!"— "—— —— your money; I'm going to serve out my time!"— In my wrath I was overhasty, and addressed her in these

RATHAUS AND RATSKELLER, HALLE.

After a copperplate engraving by Schade (1789). The original is in the City Museum of Halle.

uncivil words: "What's that you'll do to my money, you wanton hussy, you —— ——?" And with that I threw it in her face with such force that her nose began to bleed. Not only did she smear herself all over with this blood, so that she looked like some horrible fiend, but she also began to shriek violently.

My wife shouted at her: "Quick, run off, like that, to

the Burgomaster of the Council ! " She also went out into the lane, where people were gathering together, and cried " Now you see what sort of a man he is ! Look how murderously he has mishandled the girl ! " etc., etc.

The maid wanted to run off, as my wife had bidden her ; and I was determined that she should not go in that state. Here again there was a tugging and a shouting all over the place, until the maid tore herself free, and ran out behind, through the new buildings, to the house of the worthy Burgomaster of the Council, Knorre, and there screamed out her accusation against me.

But when he saw her the good man thought someone had been trying to cut her throat. " Go at once," he cried, " and get yourself bandaged ! "—But I too went to him immediately and laid the true facts of the case before him. But at first he would not hear a word : " Get away with you," he cried, " I have heard all about you ! "—So black was the portrait which my wife and her friends had painted of me !— I asked him : " How can you condemn me before you have even heard me ? "—" Well," said he, " tell on."—I told him the whole story, how she had borne herself toward me and had merely got a bloody nose ; and how she was a malicious, thorough-going wanton, and was in the family way.—" You must put in an appearance in the Council Chamber after church."

Well, I did so, and there they left me standing about until nearly twelve o'clock. But I had heard the clock strike once too often, and I was not able to return ; and to all that I could say I was merely told : " You must undergo correction * ! "—I protested and referred to my profession, but they stood up and marched out of the chamber and left me standing there.

The stockmaster and his assistant, who had received their orders, showed me little goodwill. I was forced to go to prison then and there, and was locked in as though I had been the basest thief.

My father, as a member of the Council, wanted to obtain my release by appealing to the worthy Burgomaster Knorre, who was at that time the ruler of the city, and to go bail for me. But he could not manage it ; I had been painted

so black, as a godless and wicked person, by my wife and those who supported her, that the Burgomaster considered that I must first be tamed and subdued. My father asked him: "He has children, too; and who knows what may happen to him?" *N.B.*—I had also to sit through the night and the whole of one day in the stocks; and there are no words to express how this mortified me!

But the authorities had learned of these proceedings and made them the subject of a severe reprimand. Whereupon I was released, and I ought in truth to have rendered thanks and solemnly promised * good behaviour! But this I did not do, and assuredly if I had again found the woman in my house, I should have slain her! So full of wrath was I.

Shortly after this another mischance befell me. I had one or two students of medicine in the house, and also two strapping barber's apprentices. They caught a great black dog in the yard, and fed him for several days on milk, meaning to dissect him.

When they brought him out I asked them where the dog came from and to whom he belonged. They told me it was a farmer's dog and had got into somebody's backyard.—I did not think the matter of any particular consequence. I was present when they dissected the dog and pointed out to them the *venas lacteas* and other *viscera.*

Most unfortunately, the apprentices carried the dead dog past Master Ditrich's saltworks in Halle. Master Ditrich came out of his storehouse just at that very moment and caught sight of the dog. He immediately made a great to-do about the matter and stated that the dog was his.—He also inquired where the youngsters had been.

Now one of the students owed me rent, so that I had had to speak to him severely about the matter. He threatened that I should repent of this, and drew up a placard in writing, to the effect that if anyone had lost a large black dog, it had been killed in Master Dietz's house, and that Master Dietz himself had been present when it was slaughtered.

The Master who was tending Alderman Möschel's and Alderman Pick's saltpans ran to his employers with this document, and they immediately denounced me in no

measured terms to the magistrate, so that they at once began to make inquiries about me.

I engaged Master Licenciate Lüdick. He made a representation *contra inquisitionen* to the city authorities, and obtained an injunction against the Council: that the examination should not be proceeded with, but that if the Burgomaster, being concerned in the matter, wished to move against me, he must lodge a properly drafted complaint in accordance with the mining laws.

He did continue to move in the matter, and lodged a complaint of four folios through Master Licenciate Möschel, and immediately summoned, to attend the hearing of the case, six witnesses to the fact that the dog had been worth forty thalers.

Hereupon a day was appointed for the hearing of the case, and it was understood that the complainants had to prove that the dog *quaestionis* had really been worth forty thalers, and that I had stolen him, and so in good time we should learn what the law was.—And here he brought forward his witnesses and had them sworn and interrogated as to whether the dog used not to enter the water and retrieve stones and whether he had not caught and held a thief and other childish nonsense of the same kind. He also adduced as evidence the above-mentioned placard and sought to hold me morally responsible.—The evidence of his witnesses amounted to little or nothing.

And because respectable people had taken a side in the matter, stating that it was not right to spend so much money and call so many sworn witnesses in respect of a dog, worthy Councillor König at last brought the case to a conclusion, severely reprimanding the master-saltpanner and asking me: "What would you be willing to give him for the dog?" —I replied (simply to be rid of the whole vexatious matter)— "Two thalers." The Councillor asked the plaintiff: "Well, will you take that? If not you won't get anything."— "Come come," said the saltpanner, "that wouldn't be just. The trial has cost me twenty-six Imperial thalers!"— "Well, if it cost you a hundred thalers it would have been worth it to you. Why did you ever begin such proceedings?" —"I will take twenty thalers!" said Ditrich.—"You won't

get another twopence!" said I; "We might go on disputing in the matter for another year! What do I know about your dog, you malicious fellow?"—His advocate left the chamber; so did mine, for they saw that the judge was angry. I laid the two Imperial thalers on the table, and in the end Ditrich picked them up. "The dog trial" was over.

But after this things went amiss with the man's whole family, for he was a swaggerer and a blasphemer, and lost all his money and died.

Meanwhile I had finished building my two houses and had given them both a courtyard by cutting up Fischer's plot; equipping them properly with outbuildings and stables. Besides these, in the Schmeerstrasse, over the gateway, I built a third house.

And here is a remarkable thing. On the completion of these three houses, when, as was the custom, on the occasion of the carpenter's speechmaking, three glasses, each containing a pint of wine, were drained and dashed to the ground, they remained whole and uninjured! Moreover, a drunken carpenter fell from a height of three storeys, turned over, and remained hanging head downwards, and was in no way injured.

And just as the houses were ready the Swedes invaded Saxony.* All those who were able to flee the country took refuge in Halle.—This was in the year 1706, and I let every corner of my new-built houses at a most satisfactory rate. In respect of these houses I received ten years' immunity and fifteen thalers *pro cento* (which in the first place I had to pay off according to my undertaking with Master von Dieskau) because I had built on the waste land where the granary had stood.

These three houses I let for some four or five years. After that time I sold them, before the evil years had come. Zimmermann's house I sold for eleven hundred thalers in hard cash, Fritsch's for seven hundred and Hedermann's for a thousand.

In this manner, through the great mercy of God, I most marvellously succeeded in earning a livelihood (which many

most zealously grudged me) especially when I had patients who brought in about fifty, sixty or more thalers. Moreover, I employed apprentice after apprentice, who were soon able to serve me as journeymen, yet gave me a handsome premium and a bed, or gave my wife ten thalers in place of the latter. All of which she took for herself and afterwards devised to her children. But even with this she was not content; she would have liked to take everything for herself; especially since she saw how God had so abundantly blessed me in the matter of saving money.

This simply meant more quarrels, more persecutions, more whisperings in corners, and more wretchedness. And in this connection I give you this advice: never tell your wife what money you possess; rather be arrogant, overbearing, obstinate and proud.

And I truly believe that if I had been a jovial sort of fellow, always eating and drinking, and never husbanding my resources, I might even then have had to suffer less and to put up with less from my wife and others. For my wife, when she became aware of how God had blessed me, was most eager to ensure that I should leave her everything in the event of my death, because I had no children; for she felt perfectly certain that I should die before she did.

To this end she once went several miles to visit a sagacious person and get him to cast my horoscope; for I was lying sick at the time. The man left her and went into another room by himself. As he came out again he told her: "Young woman, I have no comforting news to give you. You will go first, and your husband will survive you."—This was like a thunderclap in her heart, and a great shock to her and her daughters. From that moment she became ailing, coughed, and had a bad fall, and haemorrhage, so that I had to fetch Master Hofrat Stahl in the night, who prescribed *pulverem sympatheticum* and a white pebble, which was applied to the forehead, and gave her relief.

Hitherto I had, according to agreement, brought up my stepdaughter in a suitable manner; I had cured her of vermin and a pernicious form of scabies; I taught her to read and write; for this I got many kicks and few halfpence. She

was now thirteen and a half, but strong and masculine by nature; and she began to jest with the journeymen and apprentices. I bethought me of Sirach's advice: "Look to thy daughter when she has come to woman's estate," etc.

But strangely enough it came to pass that Master Kamla, a young barber, went up on to the moors with me, and with my apprentices, in order to gather herbs. On the way he told me how marvellously he had been led and preserved by God, and had obtained a barber's shop and paid for it, although he had had no money and his childhood had been passed in poverty.

In this connection he told me that he had a good friend in Augsburg who had recently written to him asking him to assist him if any occasion should offer itself. He then showed me the letter.—I asked him: "What sort of a man is he? Does he understand what he is talking about?"—"Yes," he said, "his journeyman days were over six weeks ago; and he was employed here by Gardwich; he knows him well."—"Well," said I, "I have a stepdaughter who is almost marriageable; she also has her father's barber's shop. And I will give a hundred thalers with her into the bargain, although she has only seventy-five thalers of patrimony. You can write and tell him that; if it pleases him he can then apply to me for security."

A fortnight later a letter was received from him which was full of emphatic expressions of thanks and obligation. He begged that I would at his expense have a portrait painted of his future betrothed, since he had never seen her.—I told neither mother nor daughter why the portait was to be painted. But the painter, Master Rode, who was thoroughly accomplished in his art, and was very willing that it should be compared with that of the Augsburg painters, and had intended to paint the portrait in the best Italian style, was greatly depressed to find that the girl had thick lips like a negress.

At first I had serious scruples as to sending such a portrait. But one day, since it was at hand, and the business would admit of no delay, I dispatched it. I did so particularly as my wife had allowed the barber's business to be put up for sale by the authorities, against my will, because in the ordinary course of the law it would have come to me. Rolle, the

valuer, was prepared to offer five hundred thalers on behalf of his cousin.

But when the intended bridegroom, Johann Gabriel Schmidt of Augsburg, set eyes upon this excellent painting he shook his head, and showed no desire for such a treasure. However, I had written to him protesting that the original was much better looking; on this he showed the portrait to several artists, who likewise assured him that the painter had made but a sorry job of his task, and sought to console him.

Thereupon he sent his own portrait: it was some ten inches in height, framed in silver, under glass, and it was really very fine; *item*, a handsome ring, a book with silver clasps, and also forty thalers as security and as entrance fee to the Barbers' Guild, to which I was demanding the right of admission * on his behalf.

But they would not accept the money, stating that I had allowed the barber's business to lapse and had now no rights. Accordingly, at my own expense I obtained a legal decision and title and also the cancellation of the sale by auction to which they had agreed. Then, one evening I showed my wife and her daughter, who knew nothing of all this, the handsome ring, book and portrait, and asked the girl then and there whether she would accept this man as her betrothed? They both gazed at me as though frozen stiff; they did not know what to say; they were so full of ill-will, as always.

I admonished them severely, assuring them that I meant well by them and was thinking of their welfare, although they were always seeking to vex and molest me and told all sorts of wicked tales about me; but that God, who would preserve me and assure me of success even in this affair, had spoken to me: "Be patient and forbearing, God's blessing will be with you!" Upon which I explained the whole matter to them.

Mother and daughter fell upon my neck and wept. They begged me to forgive them; they would never vex me again; they would never have thought me capable of such a thing! In short, they were delighted and could not gaze too long at the portrait.

Whereupon I straightway dispatched my ring with six diamonds and several ducats with a letter to Augsburg; and

therewith the marriage was finally arranged. He wrote to me expressing the greatest obligation and gratitude (which, alas ! he did not feel) and also to inform me that he could not come for another four months for business reasons concerned with the collection of money. These four months subsequently were extended to six. In the meantime I made the necessary application for him, stood surety for him, and rented the barber's shop, which they still have, in the Galgstrasse.

At last the worthy Schmidt came to my house. It would have done anyone good to see what joy there was on either side. They behaved as though they had known one another for years ; and this affection remained steadfast to the end.

I put the two of them into my little sitting-room, like a pair of canary-birds, and at once made arrangements for his admission as master and for the wedding. So everything went well and prospered in my house, and all praised the good deed which I had accomplished.

But our joy was not of long duration ; since the mother wanted everything made over to her daughter, and I would not permit this, our constant wrangling began again.

Mother and daughter and their intimate friends persuaded the worthy Master Schmidt to institute proceedings against me in order to lay claim to my house in the name of his wife. He sent me a good eight pages in which he accused me of fraud, artifice and infringement of the laws respecting the sale and purchase of the house property. The regulations regarding taxation had not been properly fulfilled at the time of the sale. Still less had the *decreto Magistratus* been complied with, so that the sale of the house thus cheaply purchased for me was null and void.

And in truth it all looked bad, and likely to involve me in protracted litigation ; for he had an excellent lawyer, Dr. Beyer.

However, I hoped for the best. I also made up an account of all that he and my stepdaughter had cost me, and what I had disbursed for them ; *item*, costs of building, and the cost of application to the Barbers' Guild ; *summa*, only such sums as I could precisely determine ; which he acknowledged, as sums to be paid forthwith.

This came as a shock to him and he fell ill as a result of mental distress. For his conscience plagued him and gave him no rest ; and for this reason he sent word to my godfather, the schoolmaster, Master Nicolai, with the request that he would do what lay in his power to persuade me to discontinue legal proceedings and to forgive him.

I was heartily glad of this, as the pastor assured me that God had touched his heart. On the occasion of our reconciliation, which as far as I was concerned was a matter of both word and deed, I promised him, of my own accord, forty thalers as a christening gift to his child, with which his wife was then pregnant. And I kept my promise.—She was fourteen years and three months of age when her first boy was born. Nevertheless the child was named by the mother, who condemned me for grudging her daughter a crust of bread, and for turning her out into the world so early ! But matters were so ordered by Providence that her enmity and its evil consequences were brought to naught.

I must not forget to state the following facts concerning the above-mentioned schoolmaster Nicolai : As a result of vexation and careless nursing he contracted a cold fever and was anxious on this account to be released from his official duties. His *medicus* dosed him with an electuary of *china de china*, against which I had often warned him ; for I had seen many serious and even fatal results of its administration. —But my warning was of no avail.

The fever indeed abated ; having been driven into his limbs. Finally, his hands and feet began to swell ; but the swelling was reduced by sweating. But shortly afterwards he fell sick of an inflammation, wherein he raved and fell into utter despair, doubting his eternal salvation. I was beside him night and day, for he had taken a fancy to me.

On one occasion his paroxysm was very violent : " Ach, my God, my God and Lord, my time has come to depart, to appear before Thy holy Throne and Thy righteous judgment ! How, O Lord shall I stand before Thee ? I have indeed been appointed by Thee to be Thy servant and a shepherd of souls ; but alas ! alas ! I have not been a faithful servant, and now an accounting of those that are lost will be required of me, etc.

How, oh how shall I face Thee ? "—All this was in the presence of two clergymen. They indeed most fervently offered their consolations, but to little effect ; and so for a long time things continued, until he turned himself over with his face to the wall and lay quite still, and slept for two or three hours.

But when he awoke, and turned over once more, his heart was at peace and full of joy, and he praised God for His mercies which He had again vouchsafed to him. " Now," he said,

HALLE : HOUSES OF CLERGY, AT THE ENTRANCE TO ST. MORITZ-KIRCHE.

After a water-colour painting, 1795. The original is in the City Museum.

" this great joy is mine ! How full of bliss shall I be, singing with the cherubim and the chosen flock ! And, to all eternity, to all eternity, to all eternity " (this he repeated over and over again), " gazing upon Thy radiant countenance ! " Herewith he prepared himself for death and closed his eyes, which I was to close for him for ever. And I thought to myself : " For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in

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the dry?" For he was a pious and zealous man and an excellent clergyman.

Hereupon, I turned to his two colleagues—Master Schumann, who was *diaconus*, and Master Ockel, who was *adjunctus*—and said: "God grant that I may die the death of this righteous man. I condole with you for his loss, and I trust that Master Schumann will succeed to his blessed position as pastor, and will bestow his position as deacon upon Master Ockel." For which they thanked me.

But Master Ockel would not hear of this; for he said that some members of the watch committee would not have him. And he had heard of a better position from Alderman Ockel in connection with the Markt-Kirche. Master Schumann was elected to the pastorate. He had come to Halle not long before from Mücheln, having applied to Doctor Gerbt, who at that time was the head of the clergy, in order to preach a trial sermon, so as to obtain a hearing; for the then Pastor Reichhelm (who was otherwise a gallant man and a poet) could not hear the organ or the singing. He was looking for a substitute, but was not willing to resign his post. On this account the members of the watch committee were put to much trouble and would willingly have retained Master Schumann. It was at last agreed, upon the proposal of one of their numbers to pay Master Reichhelm, who was asking a thousand thalers for his absolute resignation, what he demanded. This was just to both parties. But so far the church appeared to have taken offence.—Matters went ill with the worthy Master Reichhelm; for he became a steward at Wansleben and was very unfortunate in his stewardship, ran heavily into debt, was arrested, and died soon after.

From the above-mentioned spiritual pastors I suffered much in the course of my wretched married life, simply through the slanders and misleading statements of my wife and her son-in-law and their friends. For they had much to do with these worthy gentlemen, and contrived, partly with presents and partly through relations, to insinuate themselves into their good graces, but me they painted as black as possible, and were able to adduce all sorts of arguments against me, so that I, if I were walking in to attend the Consistorium in Magdeburg,

she, as though she had been my keeper, would arrive before me in the coach, or would drive past me (as in the days of Alderman Schumann); so that I often sighed and bethought me how to obtain justice I must perforce suffer the most extreme injustice.

Under such circumstances I felt no confidence in them as her father-confessors, and chose others. For this reason they complained of my doings so before the Consistorium, but the reply which they received was that confessors must be impartial and disinterested in respect of their penitents, and so conduct themselves that the latter may feel absolute confidence in them. *N.B.*

In particular Master Schwentzel made life difficult and bitter for me and provided my wife with all sorts of arguments against me, because his wife and mine were related, and my son-in-law, whenever he was brewing, sent them beer. Here was an honest man! But in my eyes he was merely a worthless trifler!

Now, alas! for the space of twenty-four years we were plagued by the harsh billeting regulations, and hence I had to endure much wretchedness from the presence of soldiers and under-officers and their womenfolk.

In particular, since my wife and her son-in-law had proclaimed me to the clergy, and indeed all over the city, as a very rich man whose wealth ran into many thousands of thalers, the soldiers naturally expected plenty of everything while under my roof. If they did not get it they caused me all sorts of trouble and distress. I cannot find words to describe how they tormented me and are still tormenting me.

Old scoundrel! Old idiot! Old thief! Old swindler! Cursed old skinflint! were the best of my nicknames; my children were struck and beaten by theirs; they stole all that they could lay hands on. The sitting-room was gutted by fire as a result of overfilling the grate; the garden was laid waste and the trees—aye, and even the rooms and passages—were drenched with urine; men obeyed the call of nature outside my windows; *salvo honore,* outside and in the kitchen, and in front of the stove, which I had to heat for them, and in so doing was compelled to kneel. The looking-glass and the stove were both

broken; dishes and pots were smashed to pieces and thrown out of the windows; others were forcibly taken from my kitchen, with any earthen or copper stewpans and saucepans that were left, and all tinder boxes, etc. On the day after their arrival they had the beds out of doors and tore out all the feathers, etc. As for me, if I dared to say a word I was promptly threatened with the naked sword.

Twenty-six hens and turkeys were stolen from me in a single night, and their heads thrown into the garden; and as I afterwards learnt, the birds were eaten at a christening feast! I was forced to provide them, as their monthly allowance, with such enormous quantities of wood, oil, salt, vinegar, and brimstone, etc., that they were left with such a store of these things as gave them enough for the following month. However, they extorted from me twenty groschen and more per month as quartering allowance, which I had to pay if I wanted any peace and quiet.

They were not contented with good beds and bedrooms; but I had to admit them to my own sitting-room. There they hung their newly-washed stockings out of the window, and, *salvo honore*, as a mark of gratitude, when, on a special occasion I gave them wine, beer and roast meat, they relieved themselves in the middle of the room and smashed the window. It was under-officer Wangenheim who was responsible for this, but he too has now received his reward; for the Almighty seldom forgets to pay the wages of sin. Apart from this no complaint was of any use; nor would it ever be.

This Wangenheim was billeted upon me, and when he returned from duty he would take his seat, *sans façon*, at our table, and eat insatiably until everything had disappeared.

One day, when I had bought a fine carp of three pounds' weight, and promised myself, as a little treat, that only my household and myself should eat it, I said to my wife: "As Wangenheim is on duty with the rest of the men, be sure to come out of church in good time, so that we can dine before the glutton returns."

But either my wife had forgotten this, or she was late out of spite. I waited for her some time after my own return, and at last she came, conversing affably with Mistress

Werneroth, and she remained standing and gossiping by the rainwater-butt. This annoyed me, so that I called and beckoned her, but nothing would make her turn round. At last she came in with her usual affected gait, and spent some time in taking off her outdoor garments.

I said : " Now, I begged you to come home in good time so that we could dine before that fellow arrived. You never obey me in the smallest thing ! But God will not let you go unpunished ! "—Then there arose such a storm between the wife and me as had never yet been known, so that in my impatience and haste, on pushing her aside, I knocked her bonnet off her head. It would not have been worth the trouble and there would have been a terrible to-do if I had given her a thorough beating ; which indeed I should not have regarded as just or reasonable ; but as it was the woman had no excuse for causing such an uproar. She tore the coif from her head, and her dishevelled hair gave her a hideous and unaccustomed look. " Well now," she said, " well, I have been expecting that a long time. You will come badly out of this, I can tell you. We have taken your measure sure enough ! " (referring to Pastor Schwentzel), and therewith she ran out of the house to her daughter.

In the meantime the soldier came home, so that out of sheer vexation I was after all unable to eat that splendid carp.

I had not supposed that this matter could be so serious as it now threatened to become. For my wife went before the Consistorium and made so much of the affair that itseemed plain that she went every night in danger of her life ; she adduced innumerable faults and unimaginable particulars through her dear Dr. Krimpffe, for which, as a matter of fact, she paid with a few clothes (by the advice of Master Schmidt). He made much of the affair—she being an old and sickly woman, who could not travel to Magdeburg—so that she was able with the help of three commissaries, whom she instructed, and who were her customers (as she had Master Schmidt to carry on the barber's business) to obtain a settlement and a divorce.

So there was I, poor man ! again without a wife, with much work on my hands, much cooking of food, much anxiety and

heavy expenses. When I thought to eat my crust in peace, even when she still sat beside me at table, and I thought it best to keep her company, there came the bailiff, bringing me a pack of complaints from her.—What all this cost me in money and distress of mind I cannot describe. It would not have been wonderful had she obtained my last penny, my last drop of blood! And she was actually proud of this. For she knew that I was thrifty and parsimonious; and she hoped by these means to bring me to reason, as she was given to boasting. But God, in whom I set my trust, has nevertheless preserved me *bis dato*.

Now these three commissaries were Master Councillor Bodinus, Master Councillor Heineccius and Master Alderman Mathesius. They arranged to sit in Master Heineccius' dwelling-house. I had engaged Dr. Greiff. But at the eleventh hour, when the day of hearing had come, he would not accompany me; it was impossible for him to do so, on account of other arrangements; I had to attend court alone and explain the case in detail; they were all matters of no importance, so that I ventured to appear alone. Dr. Krimpff rehearsed his excellent arguments and added even more thereto and laid special stress upon the divorce.

The commissaries, especially Councillor Heineccius, who was their spokesman, were aware of Dr. Krimpff's deceitful plan of cleverly exaggerating one thing after another and of reproaching me with it; so that one part of his accusation stated that I spent my whole day soaking in the taverns; and that it would have been better if I had stayed at home and taken up some spiritual work, or the Bible.—To this I replied that I had been driven many a time out of sheer *chagrin* and disgust to mix with my fellow-creatures, so that I should not entirely despair; but I never drank so hard that I tumbled out of the coach while it was going and could not find my way home, as had often happened in the past to the spiritual bird-catcher * ! Even their worships didn't find it possible to spend all their time sitting over their books.

Well, well, but now I had put my foot in it! Master Heineccius stood up and opened the window, and said, still standing, that he would have nothing more to do with this disgusting commission. Master Councillor Bodinus laughed all

the more at this ; and he went on laughing until his paunch was quaking like a jelly. He knew that what I said was true ; which embittered the other all the more. As for the Alderman, he gazed at me sourly. They and their advocate were against the divorce and tried to intimidate me, so that at last, out of sheer impatience, when I was asked whether I wanted to be divorced, I told them that I was not suing for a divorce, who had already borne my cross so long, but if she wished to be divorced and would not assist me to that end she must sue for a divorce herself.

This was indeed an unlucky remark! For this was just what they had been waiting for! Hearing it, Dr. Krimpff called aloud to the Secretarius : " Make a note of that. We must have written evidence of that in order to obtain a verdict ! "—Now they had what they had been trying to get for a long time, and it was written down that the worshipful commissaries had no good report to make of me, and that I myself had demanded a divorce in insolent terms.

And now the Consistorium summoned us both to appear before it at Magdeburg.* My wife was loth to go there and represented that she was seriously ill, but that availed her nothing, she had to appear in person. But she was quite prepared for this ; and now so quick and active was she that she called upon all the members of the Consistorium, and obtained recommendations from their wives both in Halle and in Magdeburg, especially from Mistress Salomon ; so that when I called upon the Councillors before the day fixed for my appearance I found that she had been before me. As I often met her in the street about that time I used to bid her good morning, and offer to pass the time of day. But she gazed into space as it were, and refused to answer me, until at last the court day came round. Then came the verbal battle of the advocates. But sentence had already been passed on me. For a year there was to be a legal separation from bed and board and I was to give her thirty groschen weekly.

For she had made me such a terribly wealthy man ; there was I living in her house, with her goods and chattels around me, and making a great deal of money out of it. This was the reason why so much was adjudged to me with the delivery of her chests of plate and linen. And immediately a member of the

Council of Mines was entrusted with the execution of the decree.

I journeyed from Magdeburg to Halle with a sorrowful heart. That very day the sheriff and his man completed the business of removal. It was a sight to be seen, all that dragging out of goods and chattels, and partly of my own furniture until I wished that I might give up the ghost. And I did actually fall ill and had to keep my bed. Now they really thought that they would soon see the end of me! But I prayed to God, the all-Highest, that he should make an end of my misery, and I resolved to be patient, but in the long run my patience became exhausted. Especially when the sheriff called every week to fetch her thirty groschen.

But the worst of it all was that I could not rest, and every day, morning or evening, I used to pass by her rooms at Master Hosse's, from whom she had rented apartments. Or I used to see her, and go into the house and ask after her; so that I believe it became the subject of jest. And it was the same with her, as she told me later! Moreover, whenever I had to go to Berlin for seven or eight weeks in the service of the Council or the Corporation or the Brewers' Guild (and every day of those weeks I was earning many shining thalers!) she found that she was unable to remain quietly behind when I was no longer near her; so that she wrote me the most affable letters—and when we were together there was scarcely a day on which we were able to bear with one another!

However, this was due for the most part to her bad behaviour, careless speech, and continual gadding about abroad, running off to her children or to the beer-house. On one occasion I had a violent dispute with her, which Pastor Schwentzel could very well have ended (as indeed I begged him to do); but no: on the contrary, he made bad worse!

For she had not then been home three days and had been to the beer-house with her daughter. For this reason I once, about eleven o'clock at night, went to her daughter's house, and under her shuttered window was able to hear every word that was spoken, as I shall now relate. I could no longer play the part of listener only and spoke: "It would be better if you were to go home and attend to your duties instead of

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THE RATSKELLER, HALLE. SLEDGES DRIVING THROUGH THE MARKET-PLACE.—THE RED TOWER.

From a water-colour in the City Museum, Halle.

lying there on the couch ! "—Immediately some two or three chamber utensils were emptied over me from upstairs, so that I was forced to withdraw.

I went to the magistrate and complained of this. The worthy Schmidt was recommended not to encourage my wife but to send her home. But he did not do so.

I went to Pastor Schwentzel and represented to him that in his capacity of official shepherd he would have to answer for it if he allowed this sheep of his, this penitent, thus to stray and to pursue all her wicked undertakings, instead of earnestly admonishing her and faithfully seeking to reconcile us, as his office demanded.

" I will do so," he said, " I will come one day to fetch both of you." It was a very long time before that came to pass. At last he sent the Sacristan to ask us to go to him, about two o'clock in the afternoon. My wife went to him at once, about an hour before I did ; and when I arrived about two o'clock, she was sitting at table with him. I had myself announced, but he kept me for a long time standing in front of the house. It annoyed me that I should be kept loitering there out of doors like a watchman or an apprentice. I sent word to ask him whether or not I was to see him.

After a long while the pastor came out to me, and, as was his habit, clapped his hands together, and said : " Well, I have advised your wife, but she will not listen to me ; the matter must be settled before the Consistorium ; for she wants money, and the Court will award her something definite week by week." (But the matter had only just been arranged there.)

" Well," I said, " Master Pastor, was it necessary on that account that I should stand here waiting so long ? I thought to myself : he will hear me too, and what I have to say about her, and by his advice and persuasion he will act the part of the peace-maker. But this is no way to improvement. I commend you to God ! "

And so matters proceeded until the accusation was lodged with the Consistorium. But this time she gained nothing by it, although the case went before a commission and Councillor Francke of the Consistorium and Councillor Mantey of the Commission proposed to give her a definite weekly allowance.

—But merciful God! when married folk have to settle their differences through a commission! it costs a great deal of money, causes much misery, and is of no assistance. When on the last occasion I was unwilling to accept the separation the commission accomplished nothing whatever and took no action against me. But this time I had blundered and had to pay dearly for it.

We continued to observe this separation for eighteen weeks, until Master Schubert, a member of the Consistorium, came to Halle. Whether he came on account of this affair or by chance I do not know. He sent for me and questioned me about the whole matter: how was it that a separation should have been granted and acknowledged, although no motive was apparent? He had found no *rationes* in the documents; and for this reason was greatly displeased that such a thing should have happened in his absence.

I told him the whole story and heartily deplored the tyranny and violence of my wife and of the bailiff's man; how they had taken everything from me, and I was forced to pay so much a week.

"Ah," he said, "that is iniquitous; my conscience will not allow me to justify such behaviour, nor could anyone's. I shall speak of this when I am sitting on the bench at Magdeburg."

About a fortnight later there came a rescript from the Consistorium to the Consistorial Councillor Heineccius: the Consistorium had once more brought the separation of Johann Dietz and his wife under consideration and purposed to effect a reconciliation between the two; and on this account they hereby commissioned Master Heineccius in a friendly fashion to endeavour to further such purpose, so that these two elderly married persons might be brought together again.

For a long time the Councillor kept silence as to these instructions. It is probable that my son-in-law, Master Schmidt, who used to shave him, contrived to place obstacles in his way. However, since I was advised from Magdeburg I requested that a day should be fixed for our attendance at the Court. And so matters dragged on; but sooner or later they were bound to fix a day.

Matters had been going badly with my wife, and she was unable to sleep of nights. She enjoyed now none of her previous comfort and consideration, and her conscience, which is a prompt witness as to our human failings, had continually been tormenting her. For this reason she would rather have been with me; and I was of the same mind. Consequently I did not press very hard for a hearing; apart from settling a few points, such as that I should give her three thalers every quarter.

So, to the astonishment of all, she went home with me, but I did not recover all the things which she had had taken away, for her daughter had them. Also she wheedled the rent out of me. And it is true that she had only to give me a pleasant word to obtain all that she asked.—This was our last quarrel, with the exception of one, not to be forgotten, which indeed happened before long.

This was the trouble: my sister,* Mistress Schür from Erfurt, also had had some dispute with her husband. Because of this she came to Halle to ask me for board and lodging, and she was with me for perhaps three weeks; and I was very glad to put her up. But the two women passed their time over all sorts of trifling occupations; such as making flowers or pictures of wax or beads. On one occasion they burned a great deal of wood on the hearth, an unprofitable thing to do, which caused a great deal of wrangling, which I could not possibly permit during business hours.

I asked them in all kindness why such a fire was burning, and for nothing?—Both the women took this in very bad part; they gave me the cold shoulder and jeered at me: asking me whether I had been kept without my food by their proceedings? It would be a shame and a scandal were I, such an important Court barber, to starve to death because of their proceedings; and a great deal more empty wind of the same sort. This made my brain whirl, and I said: "Hold your tongues, you women!" and thereupon I left the room.—But they both pursued me, scolding me. There would have been no end to this; so I said: "If you don't go away and keep quiet, I shall take the whip to you! A thousand devils to you!" This was casting oil upon the fire! If they had not scolded

me before, they began to do so now without restraint!—I too lost my temper now and seized the horse-whip and lashed away at them; first one and then the other, until they both ran into the house. This again was a misfortune to me and cost me thirty thalers, and it would not have been wonderful had they ruined me, so many losses had I suffered and such heavy legal costs. For they now employed Dr. Dürfeldt against me. Moreover, Mistress Schür's husband denounced me violently in Council and laid a claim for damages. Likewise the scribblers at the Town Hall were always ready to earn money and to institute an inquiry. But I presented a written petition to the Government, which at that time was still at Halle, although soon afterwards it was removed to Magdeburg.

I had to pay a fine of six thalers, but Mistress Schür was ordered to make me a full apology and we were dismissed. I paid my six thalers, but Mistress Schür ran off without so much as a good-bye.

Some time after this, to the great grief of the whole country, died our most gracious and beloved King. For at that time it was already easy to imagine how matters would go with us. I could plainly foresee the miserable and grievous time ahead of us, and warned others of it. I myself did not escape it, although I had opportunities to flee from it all.

And now I was head over ears in a fresh misfortune. For the Barbers' Guild absolutely insisted that I must resign my position as Court barber, which I had attained, and hitherto profited by, because the King was dead and no Court barber was needed.

In the first place the question was put to the Government whether my patent referred to the now reigning King, or whether the King would renew my *privilegium* and again appoint me to be Court barber?—The case was prejudiced by private letters (thanks to the Barbers' Guild) so that I could obtain no hearing in Berlin; and even those to whom I had been recommended by Professor Gasser were set against me, thanks to Professor von Danckelmann.

I returned full of care and anxiety, and thought to myself: "Why does everything in the world go wrong with you?

The Lord has forgotten you and will leave you all your life long in trouble and anxiety. How is it that many wicked and worthless fellows, who have neither experience nor learning, and do nothing but eat and drink and smoke tobacco, but who have no notion how to demean themselves, are so prosperous? They grow old in comfort; they know nothing of misfortune or persecution. Everybody goes to them, and they are greatly respected. And you have earned your crust of stale bread so

A BARBER'S SHOP.

After a copperplate engraving of the eighteenth century.

laboriously! How is it you have made yourself so unacceptable to God as to deserve this fate?"—But presently I consoled myself with the thought that it has ever been thus with those beloved by God, and that His chosen have had to suffer the greatest persecution. Yea, that such suffering is precisely the true livery by which the Lord Jesus knows His own, distinguishing them and setting them apart from the brutal multitude, which blooms to-day, but is withered on the morrow!

With this thought and others of the kind I tormented myself all night long. Next morning, when I had zealously said my prayers, I went to the Estates Office, where Privy Councillor Katsch's brother was in charge. He knew me well.

On the way thither I felt greatly cast down and mournful and I could not foresee any comfort in the future. For one thing, as I have related, all my offers had been refused. In the narrow lane through which I had to pass I met the carol-singers. Six of them stood stock-still before me (just as they do before a house) and began to sing at the top of their voices :

" Wer hofft in Gott und dem vertraut,
Wird nimmermehr zu Schanden,
Und wer auf diesem felsen baut,
Ob ihm gleich steht zu Handen, . . ."

This mightily consoled me, filling me with joy and the most heart-felt trust in God, so that I said to myself : " Behold Almighty God ! Now there is no need to distress myself ; God will help me ! "—And it might truly have been said of me : " And he believed the Word ! " And this I can indeed say in truth, praising and glorifying God and giving Him eternal thanks. That this should have happened to me in great anxiety and affliction of the soul strengthened me mightily. In this and many other things the truth, omniscience, loving-kindness and timely care of the most loving God has truly manifested itself.

For when I came to the Estates Office, although Master Katsch indeed told me that my affairs were not going well, there was with him a gentleman who sympathized with me and wished to show me in secret audience the decree against me.

As they were looking through the records the Court-Marshal von Printz, a tall, strongly-built, distinguished gentleman, the King's Prime Minister, entered the room with an affected gait, and at once took his seat at the table. The other two, startled, submissively ran from the room, and left me standing quite confused. The gentleman looked at me. When I had recovered myself a little, I made a reverence to him, and said : " Most worshipful and high-born sir, your Excellency,

I trust, will not be displeased at finding me here. I have held from his late Majesty the goodwill and the position of a Court barber in Halle, in return for my loyal service. And now his late Majesty being departed, the barbers there seek to drive me away again. I am therefore pleading for his all-gracious Majesty's confirmation of my position."

The gentleman gazed at me steadily, and during the course of my speech, constantly exclaimed: "Yes, yes, yes," and nodded with his head; and when I had done he said "You shall have it." He then called the Councillor and immediately commissioned him to issue the confirmation, which was far better than the first. I bowed to him, and expressed my thanks and good wishes.—This man learned to know me so well, since at that time I often had dealings with him, that he soon came to call me by my name.

The barbers, however, were far from pleased that their evil intentions had thus miscarried!—Even yet I had two or three difficult passages to go through. In this connection, I do not advise anybody to attempt to thrust his way into a guild or handicraft, as I was forced to do, just as I was forced to seek a position as Court barber. I should have preferred to make my living in Halle by some other means.

The first quarrel I had was in respect of the position of Guildmaster. After the death of several holders my time to fill the position came round; yet they elected Master Schwender and passed me over. They said, or thought, that I was a free master.—In order to undeceive them, and to protect myself from insult (for I had passed my examination, no less than they), I petitioned the Court, which decided that I must by all means be their Guildmaster, because I was the King's Court barber, while they were only self-appointed.—And I had to let matters take their course.

My other dispute with them was due to the fact that I passed on my privilege as Court barber to Johann Gottlieb Gerber. This was because I thought that my wife would not die as yet, since she was having whole hampers of herbs sent to her. She had a cough, indeed, and was expectorating terribly, so that I gave her a room to herself. Consequently

my housekeeping, what with my apprentices and journeymen, was becoming very difficult. For this reason I thought to live in peace. This indeed I compassed, in so far that I was able to transfer the barber's business for a payment of fifty thalers, however much the Barbers' Guild was set against such a course.

Simply because Gerber hesitated so long, putting me off for three years (during which time I was still forced to remit his fifty thalers) the barbers sought to revenge themselves upon me. And this is the opportunity which offered itself to them.

During the time when I was Guildmaster, I gave Master Stecheysen's apprentice, who had to all intents served out his time with him, his indenture, on his beseeching me and swearing that he would never tell anyone of the same; because he had been attacked by a soldier's wife, with whom he had perhaps had relations, and wished the matter to be kept secret, without the whole Guild knowing of it. However, he paid what was proper, as I reckoned the matter, and promised me a reward.—On the other hand, I gave his indenture to an apprentice from Gera, a barber's son, who had all but served a year in Halle with his natural brother Philippi, to the great grief of his mother (since he might leave her to go into strange countries, and might perhaps fall into evil courses among ill companions) in return for the fees which I reckoned were due to the Guild.

It was my own brother's son, who was just then in Gera (and whom I had reared for the space of nine years, teaching him the barber's art, clothing him and supporting him) who first betrayed me to the members of the Guild; in that he cried, when he saw my writing: "That is my uncle's writing, and a forgery!" While Philippi reported the matter in Halle, to Müller, Müller told it to Harnisch, who at that time was my enemy, because I had lent him eight hundred thalers to buy his house, assisting him to do so with all manner of good advice, and had helped him to marry his wife.

But since I had asked him to repay the money, he had become my enemy. All these people, and my son-in-law into the bargain, now began to abuse me. Stecheysen was the first to tell of his apprentice, and to witness against me; but Master Harnisch, who was always going to and fro between

the Councillors, and was especially esteemed by Master Councillor Kost, consulted with each of the Councillors in turn and supported the accusation against me in the most vigorous fashion.

Neither prayer nor entreaty was of any avail, although I at once invited the whole Guild to my house. In this I was mistaken, and guilty of a further offence, although I had done so with the best intention and motives; I admitted my fault, and offered to pay them there assembled fifty thalers in order to settle the matter. I had given the indentures to Master Werneroth in the absence of the Guild; and there was the money all accounted for, and no one was defrauded of a single farthing But it was all of no use. I was obliged to withdraw, but I heard through the door how they deliberated upon my case and decided upon their malicious verdict. The most emphatic of all was Pitmaster Schwartz,* who said that my offence was a crime concerning which the authorities could not keep silence and which one must denounce to the Council.—Thus my misfortune was indeed a trap.

At this stage they began to call on one another and on the lawyer Dr. Greiff, whom I had before this always recommended to the Barbers' Guild, and had put a good deal of money in his way. For this reason I hoped a good deal from him; and he promised me, moreover, to make little of the matter. —But alas, he did nothing of the kind! He made the accusation against me as severe as it could possibly be. Indeed, he himself declared that I once paid him some money on behalf of the Guild, and that he had received some of it, but he did not know whether it was two thalers or sixteen groschen; and that he had given it back to me on his own behalf, dropping it in my hat as a gratuity. This, when I heard of it, vexed me greatly. Meeting him close by my brother-in-law Pohl's door, I said to him: "See here, Master Doctor, what have you done to me? Are these the promises which you made me? God forbid!" To this he could not answer a word and hung his head in silence. And shortly after he fell ill as a result of this matter and very soon died.

When the accusation was laid before a certain Councillor in council assembled, he held it up in the air above the table (as was credibly reported to me) with these words: "Here

at last we have *Dietzum*!" When I learned all this I was readily able to see how matters would go with me, and to what calumny and insult this subjected me. This distressed me greatly, for they proclaimed it to be a *crimen falsi*, which would be punished by banishment; and they made it much more serious than it was.

There was no one to give me good advice, or to wish me good luck.

I mounted Shanks's pony and ran as far as Dölau, where, being quite worn out, I lay down in a wood and decided to wait for the post. But the post had already gone by. I was in the greatest distress, and God knows that I could not make up my mind what to do. Yet I did not wish to fall into the claws of bears and lions; at the same time, to wait until the post returned was not advisable; therefore, I made up my mind and went back to Halle.

In the meantime the barbers were raging, and had brought matters so far before the Council that they had sent a messenger and one of the barbers to take from me their strongbox, and other effects, because they did not wish to meet again on my account. A high-minded Council could soon have put the whole matter right, for they would have regarded me as an aged citizen who had deserved well of them and of the city. But here, alas, they did the very reverse of this! They did not behave thus when I helped Burgomaster Bertram to get rid of an execution which was levied on his house on behalf of a score of creditors!

Accordingly, I went to call upon Burgomaster Kost; but as he was just then looking out of the window I humbly paid him my compliments, and begged him to receive me on account of a mistake that had been made.—But his reply was: "You are clever enough yourself. What has all that to do with me? Look after your own affairs!" And with that he banged the window to. I also called upon Dr. Reimers, who was much esteemed by the Council, and who later became my intimate friend and was present at my wedding and the christening of my children. I also called upon Master Licentiate Knorre.—But it was all useless; there was not one of them who would plead for me or espouse my cause. Greatly cast down, I wrote a letter, excusing myself for my trifling

error. But I said nothing to the President, who had formerly wished me well, because I had previously foretold that he would meet with success in Halle.

Thus goes it in this world; a friend in need is a gem of the finest water; but God is better than all earthly friends; for they think of nothing but food and drink and money.

Now that I was in such straits (and already everybody was rejoicing over what was about to befall me) I suddenly made up my mind, out of two evils to choose the less, and to submit to the merciful sentence in Berlin rather than be reviled and worried to death by my enemies. I took a seat in the express coach to Berlin. At the time of Nebelthau's bankruptcy in 1720, in which condition he still continued, I had accepted four hundred thalers in ducats, so that for six years I had to pay the interest, dearly enough, with my own money. This money I took with me and had very little of it left. I rented a barber's shop of my own in Berlin, in the house of Master Secretary Ziegler, dining at home with him and his future father-in-law [Lücke]. Master Ziegler was my advocate because he stood well especially with the younger von Katsch, the Privy Councillor, in whose hands the matter lay. We prepared a petition, representing the matter as of very little importance and devoid of evil intention, and also sued for pardon and the cancellation of the indictment, so that I should not suffer prejudice. I represented also, at the same time, that I had transferred my barber's shop to Gerber, and apart from this I should be resigning my appointment as barber and my position as Guildmaster.

In the meantime I was living well in Berlin and was spending freely; more out of desperation than for any other reason. My advocate got the ducats.

When I left Halle my wife was already ill, and I did not expect to find her still living on my return. She did not profit greatly by my misfortune; *au contraire.* "This is the result of his covetousness; I have long expected as much!" said she.—Her son-in-law behaved as though the matter did not concern him; but as he was able to prevent extreme courses he secretly snapped his fingers at the whole affair.

My sojourn in Berlin was a lengthy one and costly. For

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BERLIN : SPANDAUER STRASSE.

After a water-colour sketch, 1690, by Johann Stridbeck the younger (1665–1714).
The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

this reason I rode home. I found that the barbers had driven away my apprentices and journeymen, partly by deceit and partly by persuasion, so that the customers were all scattered, one having gone this way and one that. Meanwhile my wife had allowed her daughter to remove even the trunks and coffers, because she saw that she was about to die.

It is impossible to find words to describe how bitter the barbers were when they heard that I was suing for annulment in Berlin, so that they would be unable to cool their little tempers upon me in Halle, while the writers and the Syndic would have the bread taken out of their mouths; as they themselves complained to me later on.

They drew up a regular masterpiece, with counter-representations and reports as to my petition, of which they had sent for an attested copy. In particular, the Syndic, who received an advance of 1,000 thalers for his services, represented me as immeasurably the most godless, callous and phenomenally wealthy man, with all sorts of other accusations (being incited thereto by the barbers), so that in the criminal court everything was referred to him, and I was subjected to a much severer sentence than I had expected, which was at length sent to me at Halle, just as I lay ill a-bed. And it would not have been wonderful had I been dead. Now what was I to do? I recognized that I had deserved this by reason of my great sinfulness; I had not asked the help of God in my doings, so that I was not guiltless. For which reason I shed many tears, and this I did on looking back upon the past as much as for other reasons; and I therefore, like King David, prepared to exercise patience. I got together my money and sent it by post to Berlin. My advocate wanted to bleed me yet again, since I had already given him so many lovely ducats. I had also to pay tribute to the worshipful Syndic, the secretaries, and the messengers, but even so they deplored the fact that I was taking the bread out of their mouths!

Everything connected with my case had to be sealed and sent to Berlin, to eternal oblivion. Two members of the Council, namely, Dr. Reimers and Dr. Redel, had to be present while my accounts were submitted to the assembled Barbers' Guild, concerning which I had to beg the Guild to permit their attendance. They had to grant me an absolute acquittal

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PROMENADE ON THE ROAD TO THE BERLIN TIERGARTEN, NOW KNOWN AS UNTER DEN LINDEN.

After a water-colour sketch, *circa* 1691, by Johann Stridbeck the younger (1665–1714). The original is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

and declare that they had nothing further to say of me save in all kindliness and respect.

But the barbers had never expected this : that by meddling with my affairs they were laying up trouble and disgrace for themselves ; and they who had thought to cast me down had themselves fallen into the pit. For they irritated the Court greatly by their innumerable letters and memoranda concerning my affairs, and by this means the King discovered all that an apprentice has to give for his indenture and certificate of birth in order to enter his name or obtain his release. And how much this yielded, and how the Guildmasters, amongst others, were accused of embezzlement ; so that now they had to accept all their patents, which formerly they themselves had given and sealed, either from the Council or from Berlin ! And so much for that ! *N.B.*

Some years before this I met with yet another adventure, which I must not forget.—I had done some little service to a peasant in Passendorf ; for his stepbrother had died at Erfurt, and he had been sent about his business with ten thalers on account of his inheritance. But he refused to be contented with this ; for according to him there was no other heir but himself ; and although the deceased had made a *Legata* with the help of a notary and witnesses, both witnesses and notary were themselves amongst the *heres mobiliaris* The peasant's name was Otto ; he had a head of fiery red hair and had formerly been a shepherd. He had always employed me as his barber. He came to me and complained of the way in which he had been treated. He begged me, since I had a wealthy son-in-law in Erfurt, who could act as surety, to go there with him. For this service he wished to give me ten thalers, in addition to my fare and expenses. I considered the matter, and since my son-in-law had often begged me to pay him a visit I promised to do as he asked.

The coach came to the door and we reached Erfurt in safety and put up at *The Prophets*. My son-in-law, however, took me home with him and showed me every possible kindness.

I took the peasant to call on the President, who was a certain von Abel, and who was at that time suffering from gout, so that his leg was laid up upon a chair. He took me

for an experienced advocate, whereas I was only an indifferent barber. Nevertheless, I understood how to state my case in such a manner that he believed it; therefore, I was an advocate. Concerning the peasant's affairs, he said: "The case appears to be a good one. The will or testament cannot hold good. If he will give security for such and such an amount, these people can be made to give everything back. Let him come to-morrow to the Council House with his surety and then the matter will be put right."

I at once persuaded my son-in-law, Master Schür, to give security; but I had to give him a counter security and guarantee him against loss. And so we repaired to the Council House. We had to go in at once, and we were not kept standing so long as in Halle. There I once more gave my explanation of the peasant's affairs. It was all written down and had afterwards to be withdrawn. On our entering, the President, who sat behind the table on a raised throne with a golden mace, and with the Councillors about him, informed both sides: "We have considered the matter as to whether the inheritance shall be paid out against the security. Where is the surety? Master Schür—is he willing to be surety?"—"Yes," said he, "he is my good friend."—"Then let him lay his fingers on the mace."—He then had to pledge himself: if an heir nearer in the order of succession or other claimant should come to light all would be repaid.—My peasant smiled privily and thought to himself: "Now we shall soon go home."

Thereupon it was decreed that the execution should at once be proceeded with, and the property handed over. At first the people refused to make delivery; but the peasant understood his business, generously rewarding the carriers and servants and making use of silver and golden keys so that matters were soon set right by the execution of the decree, and everything was delivered to the peasant.

At this the peasant was joyful, and said to me: "Now first of all we'll have a good time here"; but I said: "You ought not to be loitering here, far less your horses. We had best depart, for the limping messenger might follow in our steps!"—And so it fell out; and they had been looking for us in all the taverns. But we had departed!—and here I was justified in quoting the proverb: "Do not meddle with

what does not concern you." For I might have suffered the greatest misfortune through this.

For two years later came the dead man's natural brother: a tall soldier from Stettin, who had exchanged into a regiment from these parts. He inquired after his dead brother's heir. His inquiries led him from Erfurt to me and to the peasant of Passendorf. The peasant, who was a cunning customer, as red-headed people commonly are, settled matters with the brother, as well as he could, over the bottle; he gave him likewise thirty thalers and informed him that he must go with him to the authorities and absolve him, because he had effected a settlement with his brother, but he must conceal the facts so that the whole of his inheritance might remain invested in sound mortgages (as his brother had promised him, so that he could always find it or obtain access to it while still in the position of a soldier).

N.B.—Never again to advise anybody to renounce anything, either in writing or by legal process, or to get himself underwritten, unless he is sufficiently contented or insured beforehand.

For meanwhile what befell?—The peasant died; so did his wife; then, as the soldier had spent his thirty thalers, he returned and wanted more. The peasant's son and grandchildren asserted that they knew nothing about the matter. The soldier sulked and boasted, as is the habit of soldiers. The dead man's heirs thereupon called in other peasants, who threw the soldier out of doors. The soldier knew of no one else to advise him, so he came to me. He begged me, since I had been in Erfurt and had helped the deceased to obtain the money and the rest of the inheritance, to attest the fact before the authorities, as they would not admit that they knew anything about the affair.

I could not very well refuse to do this; and I therefore accompanied him thither. When I was debating in the presence of Master von Goldstein, as to the time when this had happened, it was found, in the records of the Court, that the soldier had appeared with his step-brother before the magistrates, and had renounced everything and had effected a final settlement with him. "Consequently" said Master von Goldstein, "there is

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SUMMARY EXECUTION.

From Hanns Friedrich von Fleming's "Der vollkommene Teutsche Soldat" (Leipzig, 1726).

nothing further to be done in the matter. The persons concerned are both dead. Apart from this the property is burdened with debts and there is little to be hoped from it."—The soldier behaved very badly over this. Now he cursed his brother, saying that he had betrayed him, and now he wept.

On the way home I consoled him, saying that he must not be too greatly surprised by what had happened. A friend and kinsman of my own, of whom I had entertained the highest opinion, had defrauded me of five hundred thalers, by means of a bill of exchange. His wife had signed her name to the bill, and had obtained an advance of three thousand thalers on demand; this she had to repay, but was unwilling to do so, making all sorts of difficulties, finally stating that her trustee had not been in his right mind, and other subterfuges of the kind. Twice I had to go to Berlin on this account, in the bitter cold; but there I got nothing beyond the statement that I ought to settle the matter by legal process, now that I had once taken it into the courts.—I did so; on my third visit to Berlin I obtained the decision, that the woman was to pay me capital, interest and all expenses. But when I wanted to have the matter settled and requested her attendance at the Council House, she declared that she was on her deathbed, etc.

The soldier asked me what manner of folk these were who behaved in so barbarous a fashion.—It was a merchant, Nebelthau, who went bankrupt for fully sixteen thousand thalers. His opinion was that I had best make inquiry as to her state, and he wanted to go with me and to see whether the woman was really ill or not.—And I made no objection.

The soldier went up to the house, and found, to his misfortune and mine, that the doors of the house and the living room were open. He walked straight in and sat down at a table by which the woman was seated; but she, as soon as the soldier entered, hopped into bed. The soldier brought out his tobacco-pipe and his tinder-box and sat there at the table, smoking. The woman, who could not bear tobacco, lamented and shrieked aloud. She asked the soldier what he wanted and who had sent him there? He replied: "That's all the same to you; but I wanted to see whether you were

ill. Why are you trying to defraud that honourable man, Dietz, although he paid you so much hard cash down on this table?"—"So it is Dietz that has sent you here? Well, well, think of that!"—Thereupon the son and the servants proceeded to run to Burgomaster Kost, who was their advocate, and well disposed toward them, and to Colonel Kleist, who most fortunately was away on a bear hunt, to Master Auditor Meyer, who sent for me to go and see him.—But I reflected that this was on account of my brother's son, who was going to be a soldier, and I did not go to him.

The soldier had noticed that matters were not going well, there was so much running about; so he went his way to Kalbe, where he was billeted. About nine o'clock next morning, the Colonel sent an under-officer, Lampe, to my house: I was to go to the Colonel at once. I professed to know nothing, and said: "What does he want me for?"—"You will soon find that out."—"So be it" I replied; "I will follow you at once."—"No" said he, "You have got to come with me at once."—And I had to depart in his custody. When I came to the Colonel's he was sitting in a great armchair and his wife was standing behind him. "What devil put it into your head to employ the soldiers of my King to execute distraint upon sick and innocent persons? You would only get your deserts if one sent you to Spandau in chains! And that's where you will be sent! I shall report it to my King; for you have hereby committed a *crimen laesae Majestatis*, etc."

I let him talk himself out, and as he knew no more of the matter I said, as a beginning: "Sir, how can you bring yourself to accuse me of such things, of which I know nothing whatever? The soldier went to the house of his own accord." And I related the whole affair. "If the soldier did anything wrong how does that concern me?"

He tried to continue speaking harshly, and declared that this was not true, that he would soon find out the whole truth! But I said to him: "Sir, I put my trust in God, my just cause and the King, who will not allow me to be too badly treated. I am his Majesty's Court barber. I have long served among the soldiers of the King's father and grandfather as regimental surgeon, and I know well enough how one should deal with soldiers. If you punish me too severely,

I know that I have a merciful King, who will put the matter right."

At this he assumed a more lenient tone, and asked me: what was the soldier's name, and where he was billeted?

"I do not know" said I: "But I heard them say in the Council House that his name was Otto."

Some under-officers said that he was billeted in Kalbe. Two of them were immediately ordered to fetch him. When they had fetched him and taken him to the Colonel's lodgings, it seems that the Colonel asked him: "Are you the bird who has been distraining upon people on the order of the barber?" "I am no bird, sir, but an old honourable soldier, and have never distrained upon anybody."—"Bring him to the main guard! I will give you something!"—And the poor fellow sat for a fortnight in the main guardroom before he could get a hearing.

Meanwhile the whole city had heard of this, and had made such a serious matter of it that it was enough to make one anxious and fearful. There were few who did not bear me a grudge and who now exclaimed: "There, there! Now we shall see something!"

And in sooth things were looking badly for me; for the Colonel did everything in a violent and authoritative manner, so that my soul was filled with anxiety. But I called upon God and entreated him, and the Lord heard me and helped me in my distress, so that I did not fall into the lion's claws!

For when a hearing was at last appointed, and the soldier was asked whether he was sent to the house by the barber and commissioned to do thus, and thus, he persisted in the statement that he went to the house of his own accord, and did not in any way molest anybody.

I too was compelled to appear; and they told me that the man had confessed at length that I had ordered him to do thus and thus.—"Otto," said I, "can you declare this with a clear conscience?" "No," said he, "I went to the house of my own accord, and I did not molest anybody." At this a lieutenant cried out "Thrash the fellow!"—The two under-officers raised their sticks and were about to give him a drubbing. But the other commissioned officer was more

reasonable, and made a sign with his hand; for the soldier was protesting that he was being unjustly treated.

With this the hearing was over and the case done with and the soldier set free; but the Colonel himself was arrested and disgraced.

N.B.—This was God's doing; and it was plainly apparent that His Hand was at work. The Colonel wished only to get five hundred thalers out of me, and afterwards two hundred, but in the end he merely inquired of my son-in-law (who was most anxious to talk me over) what I would offer of my own free will. The only answer I gave him was: that if the Colonel would help me to get the five hundred thalers I would give him fifty.—But nothing came of that.

And now to come to the end, and to the death of my wife. She became a great sufferer, although her son-in-law and her daughter did all that they could for her. She had a breaking out in both legs, which ejected stinking matter in great quantities, so that no one could remain with her, although she had her own waiting-woman.

At last (I do not know why she did this) she sent for me. Weak as she was, she sat upright in bed and drew me to her, and embraced me so closely that I would never have supposed that she could have had such strength, and said: "Husband, a thousand good nights; my dear husband, forgive me; if I have done anything ill, I am heartily sorry for it. Wicked people have persuaded me to do it. If I were going to live I should try to do better! But now it is too late. Do not let my children suffer for it."

Therewith she prepared herself for death and departed this life that very night.

I had her honourably buried with coaches and gave her daughter ten thalers for mourning and towards the servants' mourning.

And here I should like to say, that although my life with her was so wretched, her death touched me so closely that I shed many tears over her. And now that I too was an old man I could have wished that she might have remained with me in peace and quiet, as she very well could have done. For she was in other respects a clever and able woman and an

excellent cook, so that the Barbers' Guild were always delighted when they dined at my house, as they very often did during the time when I was Guildmaster.

I and my house servants thought that she would haunt the

A SCENE IN HOSPITAL.

From Thieman's "Haus- Feld- Arznei- Kunst- und Wunderbuch" (1694).

house, for during her lifetime she could not bear anyone else to enter it. But nothing was seen or heard, thank God!

Now Mistress Schmidt finally removed what little she had left in my home, and gave me such old clothes and bedding

and rooms as pleased her. And of the thirty-five years' spinning and sewing of my wife and my maids, she took what she pleased ! For my wife was seventy-two years and six months old when she died, and had contrived to put by quite a store of things. She died in the year 1726, on the night of the eleventh of August, at a quarter past four.

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OF MY SECOND MARRIAGE

I WAS sixty-two years old when my wife died, and I often pondered to myself whether I should or should not marry again ; and at times, when I thought of my previous marriage, I was overcome with horror.

But I had good friends who thought they might still get a generous slice off this joint. Still, I was terribly afraid of creeping once more into the cage from which I had escaped. I was living and could continue to live in a manner that perfectly contented me ; everyone would flatter me and cherish me and be at my disposal ; I was my own master, and could live quietly on my interest. On the other hand, if I took another wife I must perforce wait to see how she turned out. Women represent themselves beforehand to be angels and full of piety, but when they are once in the nest they are worse than any devil, worse than a savage dog, and will not willingly speak a good word to anyone. Moreover, I was already an old man, who would soon be foregoing all sensual pleasures, so that my wife would presently look about for another, who would sow strange seed in my garden, and lay strange eggs in my nest and inheritance. For such things indeed often took place in those days.

In particular I was warned by a friend of mine, a distinguished man, to take heed lest I should again marry into a large family with numbers of dependents, if I really meant to re-marry !—As indeed I often advised others, out of my own experience. For in such a case there is nothing but gadding about and running from one sister to another, and to the mother and father and brothers and cousins ; nothing but attending christenings and weddings, going for walks, entertaining guests, and paying servants their wages ; to say nothing of the gossip and slander and the temptation to imitate Court ways. For if the Court is wearing this robe, this kind

of lace, that overcoat, that gown : then the cry is " I must have that too ! " The life of the Court is full of luxury ; they have their tea or coffee twice a day, and a good glass of wine or tasty cakes or biscuits ; and again : " I must have that too."—" Who would not wish to live such a life ? Everything in the world is theirs ; wealth and luxury are matters of every day ! "—These were the comfortable words which passed from mouth to mouth. " And should there be nothing left, and the husband or children be reduced to beggary, none the less they must show themselves on the promenade, and the wife must go driving abroad and live her life of luxury ! "

And all unknowing that this voluptuousness kept the Devil busy, such folk passed in confidence from one sin to another, to the peril of their souls. For once they were accustomed to such a life they could not be weaned from it ; so that one saw women of this sort who were in receipt of charity, yet did not abandon their ways !

What grieved me to the heart more than all else and did most to persuade me to make up my mind was the fact that my brother's children (since they did not seem to promise at all well), and my brother-in-law likewise, were already boasting : " The house is mine safe enough ! "—" We cannot fail to get my cousin's money ! "—" My son is the sole heir ! "—" He's got such thousands and thousands of thalers ! "—And all such other uncaught fish and unhatched chickens as may be thought of.

They all wanted to get something from me, but none of them did anything for me ; they only said the worst they could think of me, or turned others against me.

If there had been anyone who had espoused my cause, or on whom I could confidentially have relied, all the above-mentioned truthfully reported preparation for my present lot would completely have dissuaded me from marrying again.

The best proposal which I was able to make to myself, on further reflection (for no one ever advised me except in his own interests), was this, which might have come to something : namely, I received an invitation from the Court at Zerbst ; and I ought to have gone thither, inasmuch as I might have bought myself some landed property with my little capital,

A DOMESTIC SCENE.

From Thomasius' "Monats-Gesprächen" (1688).

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and made a profitable marriage and obtained a good situation at Court. And so I might have lived in peace and contentment.

For I had truly foreseen the time of poverty and affliction through which our country was to pass, and had told others of it and warned them long before; yet I myself did not flee from it, as I might well have done, for I had no child, nor anyone dependent on me.

My first wife had made my name stink so in the nostrils of the whole city and had given such an ill account of me that I ought never have been able to get another wife. For she could not bear that anyone else should enter the house, and all her sayings and doings had been directed to that end, declaring that I was much older than my age or that I should die before her. Yet, despite this, many offers were made me; but as a rule there was a hook in the bait. Among these offers was one from a woman who wished to settle five thousand thalers upon me; but I was not willing to sell myself at a profit; and I made up my mind to walk warily.

But against all expectation I was caught in a very simple fashion. Mistress Reinhard, of the *Green Helmet*, had lost her husband, and was left heavily in debt and the victim of injustice. I was asked if I would become her trustee. I consented, and stood by her loyally; I set her affairs so far in order that she escaped bankruptcy, although her advocate had intended that she should be declared bankrupt and had aimed at getting her ejected from the tavern.

This was known to everybody, even to the magistrates and advocates, who did not relish my intervention. Mistress Reinhard also was aware of this and did me many a kindness, so that I spent more time under her roof than in my own home, where there was little joy in the life that I led beside my wife.

Meanwhile there died opposite the tavern Shipmaster Andres Müller, a young man, who left behind him a young widow of five-and-twenty years, and a son of five. She was the daughter of Master Baker Reise in the market-place. This widow was greatly plagued by her husband's mother, from whom she rented her house. As she saw that . . .

[at least a page of manuscript is missing here] . . . to make a public apology and declaration of esteem, and to pay a fine of six marks. This was all it amounted to, and the case was settled.

But as he was threatening her, and had sworn that he would stab her, I took her into my house even before the wedding. This was *anno* 1727, the 5 *Junii*. I made all preparations at my own expense for an excellent meal, and invited many notable citizens, including the whole *Kollegium* of the church, including the priests, and accepted no presents. Pastor Schwentzel, however, did not come.

When we had lived together for two years there was still no sign of an heir, and my wife already began to lament: if she had no children my friends would take everything from her, so that I had my fill of discussing the matter.

At last, in the year 1729, the good God gave us a son, to whom I gave the names of Johann Carl Anton.* But Master Roth christened him only Johann Anton, because he said that more was not needed. His sponsors were the grandfather, Master Carl Andres Reise, Dr. Anton Christoph Reimers and Mistress Doctor Deutschbein. I accepted no presents.

Two years later, on the 24th *Julii* 1731, God bestowed upon us a daughter, who was named in Holy Baptism, Johanna Magdalena. Her sponsors were: Mistress Councillor Dreissig, Mistress Loss and Master Borchardt the merchant. She was born under Aries.

In the year 1734, on the 4th *Augusti*, God gave me yet another daughter, who received in Holy Baptism the names Christiana Dorothea. Her sponsors were Christiana Sophia, the lawful wife of the President of Council Schäffer; Master Councillor and Doctor Michel Alberti, and the wife of Pastor Struensee. She was born under Libra. (*N.B.* Johann Anton was born *anno* 1729 on the 25 *Augusti* under the sign of the Virgin.)

In this connection I have observed that it is not advisable to invite great and distinguished personages to act as sponsors; for though in the beginning they perform their duties satisfactorily, yet afterwards they regard neither the children nor the parents, especially if the latter, like myself, have accepted

not a farthing of christening gifts. My wife would not allow me to do so. But I know now by experience that this served no good purpose. It is better to put up with obscure persons of one's own order! For anyone will willingly take part in a holy sacrament if it costs him nothing. But when the Devil brings about the mis-use of money it is repugnant to anyone to take part in a holy sacrament. In the year 1737 my wife was again pregnant; but she was very ill-tempered and obstinate, so that a violent quarrel broke out between us.

In the year 1737 God none the less gave us yet another daughter on the 2 April, under the sign of the Bull; she was named in Holy Baptism, Tabea Friederika. Her sponsors were: Paul Andreas Förster, Mistress Maria Magdalena Pohl and Johanna Elizabeth Reise, *nunc vero* Mistress Falkenberg. . . . And in the year 1738 I died, my age being two-and-seventy years and two months.

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APPENDIX I

Master Johann Dietz did not write his biography entirely for his own delectation. The goal upon which he set his eyes was that of the teacher, and against many passages which seemed to him worthy of regard, because they expressed the experiences of a lifetime, he set a large *N.B.*! It is possible that Dietz had thought of publishing the story of his life, but died while yet engaged upon it.

At all events, the manuscript as it now exists could hardly have been published in those days. It is too indiscreet. Dietz had written of himself and his worthy fellow-citizens with far too much unrestraint; and he divulged far too many names: of advocates, clergymen, and councillors; and in passing has given us sketches of individual characters which—precisely because they were so pertinent—would in his day have been libellous. There is no need to delete these names to-day. Generations have come and gone since their owners lived. But he who would inform himself more closely concerning these old families of Halle and the conditions of life obtaining in the city, will find them in Johann Christoph von Dreyhaupt's *Beschreibung des Saal-Creyses* (Halle, 1755) and also in Gustav Ferdinand Hertzberg's *Geschichte der Stadt Halle a.d. Saale* (Halle, 1889–93).

And he who will casually turn over the pages of Christian Reuter's delightful and most untruthful history, *Schelmuffskys wahrhaftiger, curiöser und sehr geffährlicher Reisebeschreibung zu Wasser und Lande*, will there find a "celebrated regimental surgeon" who also passed for a "mighty traveller." Christian Reuter was born in the same year as Master Dietz, in Kütten, which lies close to Halle, to the north of that city. When Reuter published his romance, in which—as is well known—he chose living persons for his models, in the years 1696–97, he had never travelled a step farther than Halle and Leipzig. I will not positively assert that Dietz was the celebrated and far-travelled surgeon mentioned by Schelmuffsky; for there were other barbers who had travelled far in the exercise of their craft. But I shall *not* positively assert that Dietz was *not* the barber immortalized by Schelmuffsky; for he had assuredly knocked about the world more than most of his professional colleagues.

It would perhaps be rash to compare the barber's autobiography too closely with Reuter's magnificent but fictitious saga. Yet Reuter's romance and the story of Dietz's life both proceeded from the same middle-class environment, even though Reuter smacks more of the beer-house, and, with cunning mendacity, conceals the reality by satirical comments and grotesque exaggerations. Surgeon Dietz did

not resort to the long-bow which his fellow-provincial and contemporary wielded in so masterly a fashion. Legal documents and records exist which furnish exact confirmation of the outstanding episodes of the barber's life. In the Secret State Archives of Berlin are the proceedings of the Privy Council. The enactments of the lower courts, which Dietz very often kept busy, must be sought for in the archives of Halle and Magdeburg. Personally I have had no opportunity of drawing upon these records.

Those readers who are interested in the economic questions of the period may be referred to my book: *Alt-Berlin, Anno* 1740 (Berlin, 1911), which will give them exhaustive information concerning the economic conditions obtaining about the year of Master Dietz's death,

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The manuscript, which I have had printed in its entirety, must not be regarded as the autograph copy of Master Dietz's memoirs. All the probabilities are in favour of its being a contemporary copy from which the title-page has been torn. This manuscript makes a shabby quarto volume of one hundred and seventy-three written pages. In a number of passages the copyist has made nonsense of his text. What with the division into paragraphs, the lack of punctuation and the very arbitrary spelling, in accordance with the Saxon dialect, a printed text exact in every letter would greatly have increased the reader's difficulties. In more than one place the writer's meaning is only to be conjectured. Yet a detailed list of the passages in which I have departed from the original would be of very little service to the majority of readers. Those who are interested in such matters will find the manuscript itself in the Royal Library, Berlin, where it is catalogued under the signature:—*Nic.* 229. 4°

The manuscript passed from the possession of Friedrich Nicolai to that of the Royal Library, Berlin. The dilapidated, dog's-eared, dirty volume still displays, on the inside cover, the bookplate of its sometime owner, "Friederichi Nicolai et Amicorum"; and on the bookplate is the catalogue number of Nicolai's library: *M.S.* 3.

In all probability this highly unpretentious and shabby-looking manuscript has been saved from annihilation by the fact that it found a resting-place with Lessing's friend Nicolai. This was a curious accident, for Nicolai was never a lover of literature originating from a professional or industrial environment.

One friend of Nicolai's, who made such use of his notable library as accorded with the liberal temper of the legend on his bookplate, found pleasure in reading this manuscript. He transcribed some of the episodes, and added the manuscript pages to a thick folio volume bearing the title *Annales Berolino Marchici* 965–1740. This manuscript also is now in the Royal Library of Berlin—*Ms. boruss. fol.* 29.—The concluding pages of this bulky manuscript contain a brief extract from Master Dietz's autobiography with the pertinent heading: "A Contribution to the History of Brandenburg at the end of the 17th Century."

NOTES

* (P. 15). Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (1640–1688).—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

* (P. 20). *Futterinnungsmeister :* "The Guild of Forage Merchants, which enjoyed certain privileges from the year A.D. 1162 onwards, was peculiar to Halle. Originally it was its business to see that the household of the archbishop always found a sufficiency of oats and dried fodder. The Guild of the Forage Merchants was combined with that of the Ropemakers."

* (P. 22). Of the heavenly bodies. The seventeenth-century diviner could resort to the equipment of the astrologer, which would make his performances more impressive than those of the modern diviner, who, however, is tending to accept the planchette or *ouija* as a useful accessory.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 26). Humour: "The physicians number in man four fundamental humours, and therefore four active temperaments: the Sanguine, the Phlegmatic, the Choleric and the Melancholic constitution and complexion. But although indeed all men comprise within themselves these four fundamental humours, one of them will predominate and prevail in each individual person."

** (P. 26). Those living in the City wards of Halle.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 28). A purulent abscess.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 30). "During his apprenticeship the apprentice must wait upon not only his master and his master's wife, but also on the journeymen. In those arts or crafts which are incorporated in a Guild, an apprentice, if he has brought with him his certificate of birth, is indentured before an open meeting of the Guild, at which he must pay down, in addition to the tax, half his premium. When he has served his due time and worked out the appointed number of years of his apprenticeship, and has paid the rest of his premium, he is released by his master at an open meeting of the Guild, and thereby becomes a journeyman, although his master commonly keeps him at work for an additional period. If an apprentice runs away during his apprenticeship he is asked whether he will begin anew or merely work out the time remaining. This latter alternative is accepted by most as based upon justice and equity, though in the handicrafts another long-established usage obtains. When an apprentice is released he receives his indenture as a witness that he has truly served his apprenticeship, without which he cannot obtain the rights and privileges of a master."

** (P. 30). *Kofent* = "A weak small-beer, which is made by pouring fresh water upon the stale beer in casks containing the lees of wine, whence it is also called after-beer, half-beer, small-beer, or, since many persons like to drink it with their meals, table-beer."

* (P. 31). Dormer-window: In the sense of its derivation, a dormitory window. We have here a reference to the German custom of lodging the servants employed in a building in dormitories situated in the roof.—TRANSLATOR.

** (P. 31). Literally "fire-wall." An upward continuation of a massive party-wall between two adjacent houses, intended to procure greater security against fire.

*** (P. 31). After bleeding.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 32). In the German, *Schlippe:* "The narrow space which in some cities divides a house from its neighbours. The gutters and drains were led through such spaces, while they afforded some protection in case of fire."

** (P. 32). *Berkan:* "A cloth woven of camel-hair or goat's hair."

* (P. 34). *Schweinsfeder*: "A weapon formerly employed by musketeers. It consists of a round shaft some five feet in length, with an iron spearhead at either end, and in the middle a hook, on which the musket could be rested while firing; butit was also used as a weapon of defence against the inroads of marauding troops."

* (P. 40) *Berkan*, see note to p. 32.

** (P. 40). Draw-net, German *Harme:* "A moderately deep bag-net fastened to a pole, commonly used only to pick already caught, fish out of a live-box."

* (P. 47). Confection, German *Konfekt:* "Any sort of candied fruits, vegetables, roots, peel, etc., or a preserve of the same; or curious and artistic sweetmeats such as are placed on the table at important banquets, etc."

** (P. 47). "The Hungarian fever has, like the other malignant fevers, the peculiarity that it is violent and constant and contagious, and, above all, is accompanied by intolerable pains in the head and stomach. *Confortantia* = strengthening medicines." *Alexipharmaca*= antidotes.

* (P. 48). The March to Hungary and the Siege of Ofen.—Of the numerous contemporary descriptions I may mention the following:

"A truthful and exhaustive description of the royal Hungarian capital and city of Ofen. . . . The same under the command of the Duke of Lorraine, Lieutenant-General of his Imperial and Roman Majesty Leopold the First. *Anno* 1684. Siege of the same. . . . Together with an exhaustive daily record, of all incidents worthy of remark which occurred from day to day during the Second Siege, *Anno* 1686, under the command of the renowned Duke of Lorraine. . . . Frankfort on Main" (year of publication not mentioned).

"*Diarium*, or: A brief and veracious narration and description of all that befell or was accomplished day by day at the siege and successful storming and conquest . . . of the fortified capital of Ofen . . . printed in the year 1686."

"Victory of the German arms, or exhaustive description of the city of Ofen, subdued with much bloodshed. . . . Accurately compiled for the Press from letters received from Vienna. Prague, 1686."

Finally: "Life and Military Exploits of General Field-Marshal Hans Adam von Schöning. Berlin, 1837."

* (P. 50). "He goes ahead like a Dutchman" is an expression used by the people of a person given to showing a clean pair of heels; especially of soldiers; probably on account of the lack of inclination

or aptitude for war upon land displayed by the Dutch people. See also p. 124.

* (P. 52). Band-glass: A band-glass (*Bässglaser* or *Pässglaser*) "is a species of tall wineglass which is surrounded by rings, hoops or bands."

** (P. 52). Quartermaster: "An under-officer, who receives the soldiers' bread and rations the same. He provides quarters for the company, allots billets, and in garrison towns sees to it that every citizen provides his soldier with bed, board and lodging, fire and light."

* (P. 53). Blockhouses: "Wooden batteries resting on rollers or the deck of a galley in which light guns were mounted, and which approached unseen by water or were hauled into the counter-scarps and counter-approaches, whence they could play upon the enemies' works."

* (P. 56). Neuhäusel on the Neutra, since 1663 in the possession of the Turks, was stormed and recaptured by the Christians on the 19 August 1685, after a siege of a month's duration.

** (P. 56). On the 4 July (new style) 1686 the principal forces of the Brandenburgers arrived before Ofen, penetrating even beyond the city, on the left bank of the Danube. On the 5 July they crossed a bridge of boats and took up their position immediately before Ofen.

* (P. 58). The water city or Jews' city, a suburb of Ofen lying on the bank of the Danube, was cleared of the Turks without serious opposition, and was occupied by the besieging forces from the 24 June 1686. Nevertheless, the Christians were subsequently repeatedly compelled to defend their position against the Turkish sallies from the city of Ofen, which lay on higher ground.

* (P. 59). A cannon-royal fired a ball weighing forty-eight pounds; its point-blank range, with a horizontal trajectory, was five hundred yards; with a high trajectory it carried much farther. A cannon-royal weighed some 70–80 cwt. A three-quarter-cannon fired iron balls of thirty-six pounds' weight, while a demi-cannon, which weighed 50–60 cwt., fired a ball of twenty-four pounds. The cannon-royal and the three-quarter-cannon were employed in breaching fortifications, but were not often employed in the fortress itself, as they caused a too violent concussion.

** (P. 59). The constable served the guns and was in command of the gunners.

* (P. 60). Falconet: A long, slender cannon, which fired a ball of one and a half pounds.

** (P. 60). To spike guns: to drive a nail into the touch-hole so as to render the piece useless.

* (P. 61). The Spanish engineer, Don Gonzales, joined the besieging army on the 15 July 1686. On the 22 July a Turkish powder-magazine was blown up.

* (P. 64). Concerning the death of the two Counts Dohna, compare Canitz's *Gedichte* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1727), pp. 178 et seq.—Carl Emil Count Dohna fell at the storming of Ofen on the 4 July, and his younger brother Ditrich on the 17 July 1686.

** (P. 64). Hungarians: Small copper coins of which a hundred and fifty make one thaler.

* (P. 66). Sauerkraut as a preventive of fever:—

"En Napp vull Suerkohl mit Spek,
Dick-Erften dran geröhrt,
Drift gliek dät hitzge Fieber weck:"
Dät heb ick hüt gelehrt.

(Wilhelm Bornemann, *Plattdeutsche Gedichte*, Berlin, 1816, vol. II. p. 139).

* (P. 67). The Swedish auxiliary troops first entered the camp on the 21 August 1686. The attempt of the Turks to break through the ring of the besieging troops and throw fresh combatant forces into the fortress may perhaps be referred to the 14 August.

** (P. 67). Aga: "A general or commander-in-chief of the Janissaries, exercising great power and greatly respected. This word actually denotes an over-lord or commander."

* (P. 68). *Mumia:* Physicians and apothecaries used to prescribe mummy in many disorders; it was administered both internally and externally, and the drug prepared from the bodies of criminals fresh from the gallows was especially valued. "This is the true and most powerful *Mumia*, the body of a man who has died not a natural but a violent death, in sound health and without suffering pain."

** (P. 68). Tolpatsch, "The name given to the Hungarian infantry or men-at-arms."

* (P. 75). The storming of Ofen took place on the 2 September (new style) 1686.

* (P. 77). At a later date Augustus the Strong, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, took an amorous interest in one of the captured Turkish women. She bore him a son on whom he conferred the title of Count Rutowski, and he found her a husband in Lieutenant-Colonel von Spiegel.

* (P. 80). "Horrible spectacle": cf. the thirty-second story of the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Navarre; from which Friedrich Leopold Stolberg obtained the material for his ballad *Die Büssende*.

* (P. 90). A play upon words occurs here in the German: *stocks* and *goat* being designated by the same word.—TRANSLATOR.

** (P. 90). See the theophrastic seal: cf. Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schrifften*, Basle, 1589–91.

* (P. 91). Excellency: This title was at first reserved by the Emperor for himself, but was later adopted by princes and finally by ambassadors. In the 17th century it was applied to ministers and general officers. However, doctors and professors referred to themselves as *viri excellentissimi* in virtue of their diplomas. They are the so-called "School-Excellencies."

* (P. 93). "Over a paymaster's door one sees the words *Date et dabitur vobis*: 'Give and it will be given unto you'; for he who wishes to be paid must first bribe him who pays."

* (P. 101). *Hospitium:* "A hostel or lodging-house where each guest has his own room."

* (P. 102). Smack (*Schmack-Schiff*): "The Smak-Schip, a Dutch vessel, broad both fore and aft, with a leeboard on either side. The largest run from twenty-four to thirty-two tons' burden and the smallest from four to eight."

* (P. 107). The long dispute between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein seemed to have reached its term when Christian Albrecht (1641–94), who from 1659 was Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, married, in 1667, a daughter of the Danish King, Friedrich III. But Friedrich III died three years later, and his successor, Christian V, once more laid claim to absolute sovereignty over Schleswig-Holstein, and treated his brother-in-law, the Duke, as his vassal. In 1684 Denmark took possession of the Gottorp territory in Schleswig. However, Christian V, despite his military success, submitted to the will of the Congress of Altona, at which Brandenburg also was represented, and by the Convention of 1689 he restored his territories and rights to the Duke Christian Albrecht.

* (P. 111). The cribs formed part of a granary or barn; the part to the right and left of the threshing-floor was known as the clearance; and in the cribs on either side of the barn the corn was stacked or piled in sheaves.

* (P. 112). In the *Basilica chymica* of Oswald Crollius, the opinion is advanced that "Venenum in natura ubi summum, ibi plerumque et medicinam latere."

* (P. 114). Treacle was regarded as "an invaluable medicine and a sudorific, an antidote to all poisons, and a specific in all malignant and contagious maladies; and especially efficacious in the poisonous bites of wild animals and disorders of the brain, convulsions, disorders of the stomach, and chronic maladies, administered both externally and internally."

* (P. 117). "On board ship the title of master (*meister*) is bestowed upon the barber or surgeon (lit. 'wound-doctor')."

** (P. 117). Dietz accompanies the whaling fleet: This account may be compared with Friederich Marten's *Spitzbergische oder Groenlandische Reise Beschreibung, gethan im Jahr* 1671 (Hamburg 1675). Martens likewise made this voyage to the Arctic Ocean in the capacity of ship's surgeon. Compare also: C. G. Zorgdrager's *Alte und neue Grönländische Fischerei und Wallfischfang* (Liepzig 1723).

* (P. 122). Descriptions of whaling: "The Indian guides his little skiff up to the whale's back, and thereupon swiftly springs out upon its neck, when he drives a sharply pointed wooden peg into one of its nostrils; but fearing to be drawn under by the fish, which presents the most terrifying appearance, and is like a mad thing, the Indian sits fast upon his steed and attacks the other nostril with a similar peg or stake, thereby making it impossible for the fish to breathe; after which he leaps back into his skiff and allows his line to run out to a sufficient length, until the whale ceases to rage and becomes tired, when he tows it slowly to the shore, where, on account of its awkwardness, it remains helplessly lying, and is slaughtered, after which it is cut into pieces."—"The Samoyeds catch whales in the following manner: Twenty or more man a boat containing a line some two or three hundred fathoms in length, at one end of which is a hook. This they throw with peculiar skill, when they are near enough to the whale, into its body, after which they hastily row ashore. Now, when the whale feels it is wounded, it allows itself to be guided and follows the line, on which the boat's crew, when they have landed, haul with great force, when the whale follows of its own will, until it is high and dry upon the shore. When the tide has fallen, the Samoyeds

stabs it or shoot at it until it is dead, when they hack it to pieces. But when the tide rises again they secure such parts as are left with ropes, so that the tide shall not wash them away."

* (P. 124). *See* note to p. 50.

* (P. 125). Spermaceti "is a pure white, ductile, soft and fatty substance, which appears to consist of a number of small scales or flakes; it is of a fatty and slimy consistency and has an oily smell. It was at one time supposed to be the semen of the whale, whence its name, *Sperma Ceti*; while others thought it the whale's milk. This opinion, however, was untenable, for spermaceti is nothing more or less than the brain of the whale; but it should be noted that this material is obtained only from the male whale, in that the brain of the female whale is too fluid, and is employed rather as lamp oil.—Spermaceti contains a great deal of oil and a small quantity of volatile salts. It has a solvent and lenitive action, and is used as a pomade, and an ointment to make the skin soft and smooth; it is also used in plasters and salves to soften indurations of the breast; it is also used as an enema in the treatment of dysentery, and employed in mother clysters as a lenitive and an emollient. It is occasionally given in doses of half a scruple to two scruples' weight to alleviate shooting pains in the breast: for it is a good breast medicine. Spermaceti has great efficacy as a resolvent and therefore as an analgesic. Many writers attribute to it also peculiar fat-making properties, so that it has been said of the people of Frankfurt that they ought on this account to eat crude spermaceti on bread as though it were butter."

* (P. 126). The flesh of Polar bears: "Their flesh is tender and fat, like mutton, but I myself did not care to inquire into its flavour, as I was afraid of becoming prematurely grey; for the sailors believe that whoever eats it presently becomes grey-haired." (Martens.)

* (P. 131). *Waigat:* A name given to the Hinlopen Strait dividing the two main portions of Spitzbergen. "This strait is called the Waigut because the south wind is always violently blowing there. This Waigut must of course be distinguished from the Waigut straits of Nova Zembla."

** (P. 131). "Parrot" was probably the sailors' name for puffin. To this day puffins are "Lundy parrots" to Appledore or Bideford men.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 132). Walrus: Neither the walrus nor the seal has a tail worth mentioning, but the hind limbs, when extended, have rather the look of a whale's tail.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 136). Silver sand: Compare the *Ausführliche Beschreibung . . . Grönlands . . . durch S von V.* (Nürnberg 1679), s. 74.

* (P. 139). *Schout by Nacht*, rear-admiral, or the rear-admiral's flagship. *Schout* is the name given in the Dutch States to a certain class of magistrate.

* (P. 140). Jean Barth (1651–1702) the son of a fisherman of Dunkirk, was a greatly feared privateer, who rose in the French service to the rank of admiral.

* (P. 146). "Masters" here means physicians.—TRANSLATOR.

* (P. 147). A cure for sea-sickness: "The best remedy for this sickness is to chew pungent or aromatic spices, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, black peppercorns, and so forth. Many think to cure the disorder

by fasting, but in vain. Some drink sea-water, thinking thereby to make themselves vomit, but this is not due to the sea-water, but to the aversion of the stomach from all food and drink."

* (P. 151). The bosun's mate had charge of the pumps.

* (P. 170). Cornet: "A mounted officer who bears the colours of the company."

* (P. 176). Texera's handsome dwelling-house at Hamburg lay on the Jungfernstieg.

* (P. 182). Dietz's brother: Presumably Gottfried Dietz, who served twelve years under Colonel von Hans Heinrich Katte, and in the company of the Rittmeister of Castelnau. On the 18 January 1709, while at Maastricht, he received his discharge at his own request. At a later period he served in the corps of *Gens d'Armes* for five years, as a private, under Major Joachim Friederich von Jeetze, who on the 15 April 1724 gave him his discharge, again at his own request, as owing to sickness and infirmity he was incapable of further active service. The old man was taken into the Maison de Charité in Berlin.—After the death of our Master Dietz, Gottfried instituted legal proceedings, which appeared to have little chance of success, against his brother's widow, in respect of his share in the property bequeathed by his father and mother, and also in respect of a legacy alleged to have been bequeathed to him by Johann Dietz's will. (*Königl. Geh. Staats-archiv z. Berlin* R. 52, 159 j.)

* (P. 183). Duke Christian the Elder (born 1615, died 1691), a son of the Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony, became administrator of the bishopric of Merseburg in 1653. After the death of his father (1656) he received, in addition to Merseburg, Niederlausitz and the cities and magistracies of Delitzsch, Zörbig, Bitterfeld, Dobrilugk and Finsterwalde. He was the founder of the Saxe-Merseburg line, which became extinct in 1738. Of his eleven children four survived him, among them his own son Duke Christian the younger (born 1653, died 1694). Christian the younger had seven children, of whom only two survived him. Dietz was detained at the Court of Christian the younger.

* (P. 186). In modern German, *Roman*: "*Romaine* are love stories or narratives of any sort full of gods, heroes, and persons of high estate and otherwise, and all sorts of secret and mysterious amorous intrigues, whether fictitious or veracious, translated or original, which women used to read to their hearts' delight, in order that they might learn to speak the genuine, High German tongue in a polished manner. The number of such tales is past all counting; the latest are those of Master von Lohenstein, Master von Ziegler, Madame Scudery, Madame Talanders, Madame Menantes, etc."

* (P. 190). The Theophrastic Principle: Compare Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schrifften*, Basle, 1589–91; for example, vol. v. p. 142: "The human body—that is, all the bodies in the world—which exist at all times, and will exist until the end, are composed of three things: Salt, mercury and sulphur . . ."

* (P. 196). On the 22 February 1693 Karl Philipp, Margrave of Brandenburg (born 1673, died 1695, in Turin) was elected to the post of Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Karl Philipp, like the Margrave Albrecht and the Margrave Christian Ludwig, was a son of the Great Elector by the duchess Dorothea von Holstein-

Glücksburg. Concerning the further history of Karl Philipp see Julius Friedländer's *Margrave Karl Philipp von Brandenburg und die Gräfin Salmour* (Berlin 1881).

* (P. 220). *Milk powder: Grana tilli* or *grana tiglia* is a very drastic remedy which causes both purging and vomiting, and is seldom prescribed by the physicians on account of its violent action. The mistake of the inexperienced apprentice may easily be explained by the usual abbreviated writing of the prescription. For *granum* signifies the smallest weight used in medicine, and it also signifies a seed or grain; for example, a grain of wheat.—The seed of the lime-tree (*semen tiliae*) does not in itself produce the desired effect, although it used to be held that the flowers of the lime-tree, boiled in milk and taken internally, ensured the child at the breast of a more generous supply of milk.

* (P. 225). The Queen of Portugal: Maria Anna of Austria (born 1683, died 1754), the daughter of the Emperor Leopold I, was married to Johann V of Portugal, the *rex fidelissimus* (who reigned from 1706 until 1750), and entered Lisbon in 1708.

* (P. 228–9). Dietz had lent five hundred thalers to the merchant Georg Andreas Nebelthau at Easter, 1720, in consideration of a bill of exchange which Nebelthau and his wife had drawn up *in solidum*. But Nebelthau failed to make a payment at Michaelmas 1720, as he should have done. On the 15 January 1721 Dietz accordingly distrained on Nebelthau's goods and chattels to the extent of five hundred thalers.—Nebelthau's debts at that time amounted to 13,747 thalers fourteen groschen and three pfennigs, against which there were assets of at most 8,420 thalers. (See the *Königl. Geh. Staats-archiv z. Berlin* R. 52, 144 a.)

* (P. 229–30). Tea-drinking and Dropsy: The learned physician Janus Abraham a' Gehema advanced the opinion that tea-drinking was not the cause of dropsy but was rather a cure.

* (P. 228). Blind lock: A lock without a latch, which cannot be opened save with a key.

* (P. 234). "He who finds a treasure on his own land by common law retains it as his sole property. If he finds it by chance on another's land he divides it with the landowner; but if he has been seeking for it he cannot lay claim to anything beyond what the landowner chooses to give him for his pains."

* (P. 236). Lit., obedience: A mitigated form of imprisonment, whereby refractory spirits are reduced to submissiveness.

* (P. 237). Solemn protest: To take a solemn oath not to revenge oneself in respect of the imprisonment suffered.

* (P. 239). The Swedes invaded Saxony in 1706; they came by way of Poland, where they had elected Stanislaus Lesczinski to be king (1704). Moreover, Karl XII invaded the Electorate of Saxony and occupied the country. By the peace of Altranstädt (1706) Augustus the Strong renounced his claim to the Polish crown. The Swedish army took up its quarters in Saxony.

* (P. 242). Demanding admission to a Guild: "In an organized handicraft the demand or *muthung* is the term given to an application for the concession of a master's rights and privilges. On the occasion of such a demand a certain sum of money is paid down as the *Muth-Groschen*. Application may be made once or many times, as may

be the established custom in the handicraft in question."—" If a man wishes to become a master he must upon demand produce his birth certificate and his indentures, and he must have accomplished the necessary number of *Wander-jahre* (years of travel as a journeyman). If all is in order so far, he then makes his demand. He next makes or performs his 'masterpiece,' under certain conditions which vary in accordance with the nature of the handicraft. And if he satisfies the judges he is accepted as a master, and is recognized to possess the right to employ journeymen and accept apprentices. At this stage of the proceedings certain dinners and banquets are given, so that the expenses in such cases may mount fairly high; especially when the applicant becomes master.

" Before becoming a master he must make all necessary payments in full to the exchequer of the guild or corporation, and after his petition is granted he must make such payments to the poor-box or must otherwise apply it to works of charity. On the other hand, he who demands admission *auf die Meisterin*—that is, through marriage with the widow of a master—is granted a remission in various directions."

* (P. 348). Soldiers billeted upon a householder had to be provided with *Saltz und Sauer, Holtz und Licht, Tach und Fach*: that is, with salt and vinegar, wood for firing and the means of making a light, and house-room.

* (P. 350). Running after women (netting larks): Magistrate Laukhard says: " Day and night they set their snares to catch maidens as though they were larks, and spoil their fellows."

* (P. 351). The Government, the Consistorium, etc., were removed to Magdeburg, as Magdeburg was in 1714 proclaimed to be the capital of the country in place of Halle. This was of course a great loss to Halle. But in the beginning of the reign of Friederich Wilhelm I Halle found itself compelled to declare itself bankrupt, on account of the deplorable state of its finances, which was not solely due to the war contributions levied in Wallenstein's days. Many of the State's creditors were sorely hit thereby, and commercial intercourse was greatly restricted.

* (P. 262). Zacharias Schwartz was at this time a Free Master of the Barbers' Guild.

* (P. 266). The office of Syndic acquired for one thousand thalers During the reign of Friederich Wilhelm I a regular system of sale of offices under the State was instituted, the posts going to the highest bidders, and the money being paid into the " recruiting chest," when it was applied in particular to the business of recruiting the " long fellows " so beloved by the father of Friederich the Great. Sufficient stress was not always laid upon the capacity of the applicant; again and again the amount of the payment turned the scale.—Friedrich August Tentzel became Syndic of Halle in 1727.

* (P. 282). Johann Anton, Meister Dietz's only son, died on the 13 December 1750, in the twenty-second year of his age; his quality was then that of Candidatus Juris. (Register of death, St. Moritz-Kirche, Halle.)

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APPENDIX II

RECORDS

Register of marriages in the Church of St. Lawrence in the Neumarkt, Halle. November, 1660.

"On the 20 inst. joined together Meister Hanss Dietz, citizen of Oschitz, citizen and ropemaker of the city of Halle, and Mistress Magdalene, the lawful daughter of Master Marten Nitzche, citizen and ropemaker of this place. They were accompanied to church by the following: Magistrate Kaspar Heise, Magistrate Guntzel Kühne, Paul Dietz, Hanns Bühr, and other neighbours. The wedding took place in Moritz Henniger's newly built house opposite the Council cellar."

Baptismal Register in the Church of St. Moritz in Halle. 1665:

"The third week of Advent, Wednesday, the 20 December, Master Hanss Tietze, ropemaker, had a son baptized Johannis; the sponsors being Master Lorentz Wilde, a ropemaker, Mistress Maria, wife of Master Marten Nitzsche, ropemaker, and Master Zacharius Liesskau; who gave a mug."

Register of deaths in the Church of St. Lawrence, Neumarkt, Halle:

"On the 18 January, the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany. Master Martin Nietzche, ropemaker, *aetatis* 69; *iteratus conjunx* 42."

(Berlin, 26 November 1693.)

Johann Dietz petitions the Privy Council concerning the title of Court Barber and the concession of the right to exercise his calling in Halle. The original, in Dietz's own writing, is in the Royal Privy State Archives, Berlin, R. 52, 76.

"To his Most Serene and High and Mighty Highness the Elector.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

"I beg to inform your Electoral Highness, in most submissive obedience, inasmuch as I learned the barber's art twelve years ago in Halle, and have since then practised the art of *chyrurgiae* both with your Majesty's militia in Denmark and with the forces of the Estates in Holland, and again under your Electoral Highness in Brandenburg, with the Hungarian Field Artillery and the Life Guards, to its sensible improvement, so that next to my God, following my profession, I might be of service to my country; When, Most Gracious Elector and Sovereign, I became particularly desirous of giving *assistentz* to my beloved parents in Halle in their old age, I resolved for that reason to demand the rights of a citizen, but I now discover that the Barbers' Guild in this City contains a fixed number of members, and without a vacant place they will never admit another, unless it

be considered that the city of Halle at the present time is becoming *populoeser*, by reason of the University established by your Electoral Highness, to the great glory and profit of the city, and therefore should be able to maintain more barbers and good surgeons, and if my most obedient supplication and most dutiful request that your Electoral Highness will graciously accept me as a son of the State, and graciously suffer me, after the prescribed *Examine*, to carry on unhindered my long-exercised *profession*, like others, to the consolation of my beloved parents and the profit of my Fatherland, and will most graciously vouchsafe me the title of Court Barber, as has already been done in the case of other professions, such as the apothecary's, the carpenter's and the shoemaker's. I do not doubt that you will most graciously give me a hearing, and in return for your Majesty's most royal clemency I shall to my dying day remain, with the utmost gratitude and most obedient loyalty,

" Your Electoral Highness'
" Most Submissive
" And most Obedient
Servant
" Johann Dietz, N.B.
" Stud.chyrurgiae."

(Berlin, December 1693.) Johann Dietz submitted his testimonials to the Privy Council and once more begged that he might be conceded the right to exercise his trade in Halle as Court Barber and member of the Barbers' Guild. The Petition is in his own hand and the original *loc. cit.* " Your Electoral Highness, in reply to my most submissive *Suplicatum* of the 26 November, requesting the favour of the title of Court Barber in Halle, didst graciously decree that I must submit evidence of my capacity in respect of surgical knowledge. And whereas, most Gracious Elector and Sovereign, by the accompanying *Attestata* and *recommendationes* of the most celebrated doctors and surgeons now present in Berlin, together with other unimpeachable evidence of unusual cures, including the evidence of four excellent Army Surgeons, the same is sufficiently proven, though I might further apply to their Royal Highnesses Prince Carl and Duke Christian of Merseburg (at whose Courts I spent some time), and to Herr von Canitz, Herr von der Lühe, and Master Councillor Cannengiesser, and many others, for whom I performed remarkable cures; and in addition to this I must still submit myself to the usual *Examine* in Halle, subject to your most welcome favour; wherefore I once more submit to your Electoral Highness my most obedient request and beg that you will most graciously favour me with such *praedicat* and the title of Court Barber in Halle, so that I shall not again be cast forth amidst strangers in a foreign land, but shall be enabled to carry on my long-exercised profession unhindered in Halle in the Barbers' Guild, and like others to train apprentices and to apply for journeymen. I shall then diligently hold myself at your Royal Electoral Highness' disposal in Halle, and with my beloved parents shall pray that God will grant your Electoral Highness a long life and a happy reign. And in return for your Royal Electoral Higness' favour shall remain ever your most devoted

" Johann Dietz
" Stud. Chirurg."

Cöln on the Spree, 19/29 December 1693. Firstly: Johann Dietz's instalment as Court Barber in Halle. Secondly: Rescript of the Privy Council to the Magdeburg Government at Halle, to maintain him in the possession of his Patent. Both documents are signed by Eberhard Freiherr von Danckelmann.

" Since his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg, our Most Gracious Sovereign, was most respectfully assured of Master Johann Dietz's thorough knowledge and experience in *Chirurgie*, this being demonstrated and confirmed to him by credible *Attestata* and remarkable cures, both abroad and in his own service, as regimental surgeon; his Electoral Highness has therefore, in virtue of the same, graciously appointed and established the aforesaid as his Court Barber in Halle.

" Also and inasmuch as during His Highness's presence in Halle he is required or commanded, as Court Barber in waiting, loyally and diligently to perform such duties as are incumbent upon him as on other Court Barbers, and with this end in view must establish himself as a citizen in order that he may be admitted by the Barbers' Guild of the city and may enjoy all the privileges attaching thereto, as, to train apprentices, to make application for journeymen, in the same manner as the other barbers, and in addition thereto shall be treated and *tractiret* as a barber of the Electoral Court.

" Wherefore all shall in duty bound respect him and especially shall the Government in Halle give him due protection against the *Impetranten* in respect of the most graciously conferred *Patent*. In witness whereof, etc. Cöln, 19/29 Dec: 1693."

" Friederich III, Elector, etc. We have, in reply to the most respectful and repeated requests of Johann Dietz, on account of his unusual *capacität* in *chirurgie*, arranged to appoint him Our Court Barber in Halle in virtue of one of Our Most Gracious *Patents* which he will present to you. However, we cannot now overlook the fact that some difficulty may be made by the *Impetranten* of the Barbers' Guild of this city in respect of his admittance; it is our purpose hereby most graciously to command you to explain to the said Guild at a suitable time that we cannot bind ourselves so strictly to the number of members now and hitherto forming the Guild, since the *Universität* has been established and the city has become more thickly populated. At the *Examine*, to which he will voluntarily submit himself, as is customary, the city *physicus* at present in Halle as well as the country *physicus*, should be present, so that he can all the better demonstrate his capacity.—Given at Cöln 19/29 Dec: 1693."

Oranienburg, 14/24 March 1694: Rescript from the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg. Johann Dietz is to be Court Barber in Halle and enjoy the rank of such, but his admittance to the Barbers' Guild must take place only *praestitis praestandis*. Nevertheless he is not to be imposed upon by the Association of Barbers. Draft subscribed to by Paul von Fuchs.

Cöln on the Spree 2/12 April 1694. Firstly: A Rescript of the Council to the Government at Magdeburg: Since it appears from the report of the Magistrate at Halle that the Barbers' Guild has behaved in a very unseemly fashion, but that the Court Barber Dietz at the examination held there acquitted himself extremely well, as

has been received from a credible witness, thereby affording sufficient justification for the practice of his art, it should be intimated to the Barbers' Guild that they must accept Dietz as an associated Master by virtue of his purchase of a vacant barber's shop (or a serious engagement to conclude such purchase) and must bring no further pressure to bear upon him, and shall indeed be warned that in the event of their proving themselves disobedient the privileges of the Guild shall be withdrawn.—Secondly: A Rescript of the Privy Council to the Magistrate at Halle, communicating to him a copy of the Rescript of 2/12 April 1694, to the Government, and further (with reference to the Magistrate's report of the 23 February 1694) it is declared that this order concerning the disobedience of the Barbers' Guild shall be carried out with all possible vigour and severity.—Both Drafts signed by Paul von Fuchs.

Cöln on the Spree, 14/24 November 1694. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg. Dietz's privilege as Court Barber can only be accepted as a *privilegium personale* and will not be continued beyond his lifetime. As to what would be arranged in respect of his widow after death, the Magdeburg Government are requested to submit a report containing their considered opinion. Draft signed by Paul von Fuchs.

Marriage Register in the Church of St. Moritz. Halle 1694.

Dominica 24 Post Trinit. Master Johann Dietz, Electoral Court Barber Brandenb. and Mistress Elizabeth, the widow of Master August Watzlau, distinguished citizen and barber of this place, deceased.

Witnesses: Master Speaker[1] de Wedig.

Sponsi parens.

Married in this Church 3 December Hori 9 matut.

Marriage Register in the Church of St. Moritz. Halle 1700.

Fer. 3. Pascha. Master Johann Gabriel Schmiedt, citizen and *Chirurgus* of this place, and Mistress Rosina Elizabeth, legitimate and orphaned daughter of Master August Watzlau, late citizen and *Chirurgus* of this place, deceased. Testes: Master Warden Dietz and his *filius, Chirurgus.*

Married in this Church 29 April at 12 noon.

Lehnin, 30 April 1709. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg: Concerning the complaint of the Barbers' Guild, that Dietz is claiming the position of Guildmaster against their regulations, to take what steps are needful and expressly to look into the matter and to see that Dietz does not misuse his Patent and lay claim to more than is justly due to him. Draft signed by M. L. von Printzen. Royal Privy State Archives, Berlin R. 52, 159K.

[1] Speaker or Chairman of the Municipal Council.

Goltzow, 13 Sept. 1709. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg: As to the further grievances of the Barbers' Guild respecting Dietz: "on account of his claim to the presidency of the Guild," the petitioners shall without ceremony be indemnified in accordance with the contents of the order of 30 April. Draft signed by M. L. von Printzen.

Marriage Register in the Church of St. Moritz. Halle 1709.

"Dominica 18 post Trinit. Fest. Michaelis. Master Johann Pohle, Citizen and Ropemaker of this place, and Mistress Anna Catharina, the orphaned and legitimate youngest daughter of Master Johann Dietz, a right noble [1] and most enlightened Councillor of this place, as also Forage-master and appointed as sometime Warden of this Church of St. Moritz.

Testes: Master Dietz, Chirurgus. Master Ch. Kellner.

Married in this Church 14 October at 11 o'clock in the morning.

Halle, 13 December 1709. Report of the Magdeburg Government to the Privy Council concerning the disputes between the Barbers' Guild and Dietz in respect of the position of Guildmaster. Copy. Royal Privy State Archives, Berlin, 52, 159K.

". . . as, in the first place, Johann Diez (30 January 1707) complained to the Government of this place concerning the Guild of the Barbers, that they . . . refused to confer upon him the position of Guildmaster . . . to request this Guild to favour them not passing him over on the retirement of a President of the Guild, and since he is affected by the regulation concerning the appointment of a Guildmaster . . . we have accordingly allowed the requested prescription to be despatched to the Barbers' Guild, but the latter has chosen . . . another, by the name of Schwender, to be Guildmaster, concerning which Johann Diez . . . has made complaint, and has also obtained an order of cassation and worked out a *termin*, upon which the barbers . . . and principally the member appointed at the same time, maintain that this matter is determined not by *succession* but by election, and that they were under no obligation to appoint persons who had been graciously favoured by a *privilegium* to the post of Guildmaster. Since now, at last, after much writing on either side, and, in respect of the accusation of disobedience made by Diez, it is admitted:

> "That . . . the Barbers' Guild through the appointment of a Syndic to justify themselves *ad acta* and having at a previous meeting on another occasion . . . discussed the *Implorationem sub poena confessi et convicti*, and also because they have done nothing in this *terminus* to declare the *Implorant* liable for the expenses caused thereby. Against this, indeed, the barbers have objected. Moreover, the same has been twice rejected, and on Dietz's application a further *termin* was established, so that the Barbers' Guild in the meantime demanded the right of appeal

[1] Dietz was not a noble, nor was he ennobled. Perhaps "most worshipful" or "most excellent" would be more nearly our equivalent for *hoch-edel*.—TRANSLATOR.

before their tribunal, as we then reported, on the 19 November 1707, cognizance being taken of the previous Decree, merely as the *interlocut* and as affecting admission. But as the barbers did not initiate any *processus* whatsoever, on Dietz's accusation of disobedience . . . the case now assuming the form of a claim to appeal, was declared *pro non devoluta*, and the barbers were condemned to pay the *expensas retardati processus*."

Thereupon Dietz sought to obtain a further *termin*, but the barbers demanded *restitutionem*, in connection with which a *termin* was as a matter of fact appointed, but upon the application of the barbers it was transformed into proceedings, whose *terminos* they had not foreseen, for Dietz, accusing them of disobedience, obtained a *termin ad publicatum Decreti* wherein it was recognized that

> " . . . The *restitutio in integrum* applied for not having been effected, it was incumbent upon the defendants to show that the plaintiff was responsible for the *expensas retardati processus*.

" After the communication of this decision Dietz on another occasion begged for the appointment of another *termin* to establish straightway the admittance to the Barbers' Guild recognized *per decretum*; which was accomplished; and the Government, after the two parties to the case had discussed their requirements in an exchange of letters, issued the following Decree:

" The *Implorant* . . . now that the order of succession makes him Guildmaster, there being no one with a prior claim to lodge a plaint against him . . . it is incumbent upon him as plaintiff to settle all expenses.

" Against this dismissal of the case the rank and file of the Barbers' Guild have indeed protested, but have also accepted it, and have made it a cause of legal proceedings and judgment by an external authority; however, the *Facultät* at Jena . . . has *pure confirmiret* the dismissal as an accomplished fact. . . .

" As the Barbers' Guild *eventualiter* prepared *querelam nullitatis* against this verdict and also *appelliret*, the High Court of Appeal, and as in this connection the usual proceedings are instituted, with the *condition* that the Barbers, being instructed concerning the new order of proceedings usual in such cases . . . had to deposit 50 thalers *in casum succumbentiae*; Whereas they have not paid down the said 50 thalers but have begged for remission of the said payment, also for information in respect of their *eventualiter* initiated *appellation*. Diez, on the other hand, accuses them of disobedience, and begs for the *publication* of a *Decretus* establishing a *termin*, and that it shall be recognized in the same:

> " That the *remedium nullitatis pro non interposito* of which advantage has been taken shall be observed . . . also the *Implorant* shall be declared liable for the *expensas* of this *Instanz*.

" Although the barbers may now take advantage of the *remedium leuterationis* against this dismissal, we should nevertheless be obliged to reject such expedient by reason of the lack of any considerable *gravaminum*, but ultimately, since the barbers themselves must *inhaerire*, and may in any case be requested to take cognizance *super admis-*

sibilitate appellationis, and appoint a *terminum in rotulationis*. In the meantime, however, the barbers referred the matter to your Sovereign Majesty and a *Rescript de dato* 30 April 1709, upholding a rescript wherein your Sovereign Majesty . . . commanded :

> "On this account immediately to discuss the necessities of the situation, and in particular to take the greatest care that the aforesaid Diez shall not abuse his Patent, nor must he *praetendire* to more than his due.

"As now at length after various representations from either side the *Acta* were sent to Erffurth for a judicial declaration of opinion the *Facultät* in that city has expressed itself as follows :

> "That the *formalia leuterationis* should be regarded as permanent as far as the *Merita* are concerned, which are so evident from the *Actis*, that there can be no objection to its remaining in force in virtue of the verdict of 23 March.

"It is true that the barbers have appealed against this decision before another tribunal and have begged leave to state their case, but since the *Facultät* at Erffurth to which it was referred *rationibus decidendi* decided that it was inadmissable, we too find the same *rationes* as expounded in their *Acten* and in law to be sound and well founded, we cannot but entertain misgivings as to permitting the *Apostolos* applied for, we have therefore found it necessary to represent hereby in their place the progress of the case and of the legal proceedings. . . ."

Halle, 3 January 1710. Petition of the Barbers' Guild to the Privy Council, which is requested, during the proceedings now pending in respect of the position of Guildmaster and the articles of the Guild, relating to the appointment of the head of the Corporation, to make the declaration required of the Guild whereby proceedings might be quashed. Copy. loc. cit.

Cöln on the Spree, 24 January 1710. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg.

The latter, in respect of the declaration of articles demanded by the Guild, shall report concerning the real nature of the case and submit its tentative opinion. Draft signed by M. L. Printzen. loc. cit.

Halle, 17 March 1710. Magdeburg Government reports to the Privy Council concerning the rescript 24 January ; refers to Diez's instalment as Court Barber, 19/29 December 1693, and to their own report on the matter of the 13 December 1709, and also the Petition of the Barbers' Guild of the 3 January 1710, and expressing their tentative opinion.—This report was presented by the Barbers' Guild with a Petition of the 10 May 1710 to the Privy Council and was first brought forward for discussion by the same on the 10 July 1710. Original loc. cit.

". . . your Majesty has most graciously conferred upon Diez the freedom of the Corporation and most graciously granted him all the existing privileges of the Barbers' Guild, whereas the Corporation of Barbers are of opinion that . . . such privileges cannot be extended to the post of Chief Officer of the Corporation. As now your Majesty is minded to regard the aforesaid Diez as *Privilegia interpretiren* of the barbers, we for our part can but submit to your most gracious discretion."

Halle, 22 April 1710. Petition to the Privy Council from Johann Dietz, who begs that the barbers' request for a declaration of the Articles of the Guild shall be refused and that the Council will write to the Government at Magdeburg to protect him in the exercise of his rights. Signed by Dietz. Original loc. cit.

". . . Your Majesty, on account of faithful service as a regimental surgeon, *Anno* 1693, and because the University has been established here, has most graciously appointed me to be his Court Barber in Halle and has most graciously bestowed upon me, by virtue of his royal and most gracious *Patents*, and urgent *Rescripta*, all the many rights and privileges of the barbers of this city. It is now therefore sixteen years since I submitted to examination by the Barbers of Halle and was accepted and incoporated as their colleague, and was given a legally binding promise that I should be admitted to all the rights and usages of the Guild. Subsequently, however, it happened again and again that the Barbers' Guildmaster died, and at last, the position, *per successionen* and in virtue of the ancient observances, according to which all previous Court Barbers had become Guildmasters without submitting to examination, fell due to me, but the barbers, out of sheer hatred and envy, which they bear against all those who have received special privileges from your Majesty, once again grudged me this post of honour and its emoluments the Magdeb. Policey Cap: 26 § 13 and the fulfilment of Articulos 55 § 4 of their own regulations; but I was followed to the city by a conspiracy which jeopardized all my privileges, and again the previously issued inhibition and request to prefer me and appoint me Guildmaster. Henceforth, I sought for help and protection against such injustice in accordance with the purport of your Majesty's Rescripts and most graciously conferred privileges; but the Barbers' Guild persisted in their defiance and reluctance; a course which, indeed, your Majesty, *Anno* 1694, most earnestly forbade them to follow, in a Rescript, under penalty of a deprivation of their privileges and personal reprimand, and although it cannot be of the slightest consequence to them to cease to subject me to such treatment, they have involved me in a protracted and expensive lawsuit, which they themselves compelled me to take part in, but which I, within the space of four years, by the grace and favour of God and your Majesty, and also two verdicts and attendance at courts of every instance, obtained justice, and the Barbers, by reason of their deliberate *Malitz*, were condemned to bear the cost of the litigation. At last, since they objected to my humble *appellation* in your Majesty's highest Court of Appeal, they absolutely refused to make a report as in duty bound

(18 February), whereas your Magdeburg Government once more most graciously ordered the Barbers' Guild to recognize the rights of the case. But to this the Barbers did not consent, but they and their crafty advocate, once more sought to burden me with costs and damages since they did not desire any further *remedium suspensivum*, but now first of all privately and most dutifully requested and are still requesting your Majesty, since I for a long time had been demanding *Jus ex judicatis quaesitum*, and heavy expenses, to make a declaration of the Constitution of their Guild, which would make everything clear and enforce its observance, in conformity with the Magdeburg *Policey*, and are thereby seeking nothing else than to make matters more complicated and insecure, not only for me, but also for all those who have been granted privileges by your Majesty, and are endeavouring to restrict your Majesty's power and favour. Above all the Barbers are in several respects encroaching upon your Majesty's prerogatives, and conferring new privileges upon themselves, and appointing Guildmasters as they please, thereby infringing their Constitution, which your Majesty has confirmed.

"However, I do not at present doubt that your Majesty will take vigorous measures to enable me to enjoy the privileges which he once most graciously conferred upon me and also the rights established by his Magdeburg *Policey*, since I have not in any way caused any prejudice to the same, but have always, as your most humble and obedient subject and servant, by the building of houses upon various waste places and otherwise, conduced to the greater respect and interests of your Majesty, so that in these proceedings it was in particular stated by four sworn witnesses that the position of Guildmaster and all its privileges were granted me by God and in justice, and that I was asking for nothing new, since previous Court Barbers had held the post, and that it was of no consequence to the Barbers whether they permitted me or another to fill the post; thus in any case I have sought by this most dutiful petition to ward off the wicked intention of my enemies in time, most dutifully and obediently praying that your Majesty refer back in its entirety the unseemly request of the Barbers by a most gracious *Declaration* to your Majesty's Magdeburg Government, and further most graciously to send the same a Rescript to the effect that they shall energetically further the *jure ex judicatis quaesito* and all pertaining thereto, I remain your Majesty's most devoted etc. . . . . .

"Halle 22 April 1710

"Most humble and obediently

"Johan Dietz."

Halle, 10 May 1710. Petition from the Barbers' Guild which presented the report of the Magdeburg Government of 17 March 1710 to the Privy Council, asking once more for a declaration of their articles.—First discussed by the Privy Council on the 10 July 1710.—Original, loc. cit.

Charlottenburg, 1 July 1710. Resolution of the Privy Council in respect of Dietz's petition of the 22 April 1710, to the effect that the Guild had refused his request and should be referred to previous legal decisions. Draft signed by von Ilgen.

Landsberg, 27 July 1710. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg. In respect of their statement of 17 March it is decided: that it is incumbent on the Barbers' Guild, as regards Dietz as Court Barber "to admit the complainant to one and all the *beneficiis* due to the same and consequently to the position of Guildmaster"; and it is further decreed that Dietz is to be duly protected in respect of the post of Guildmaster and the Guild with their unauthorized demands must be completely nonsuited. Draft signed by M. L. von Printzen.

Berlin, 12 March 1714. Confirmation of Dietz's Patent as Court Barber in Halle. Copy in Dietz's hand.

"We, Friederich Wilhelm, by the grace of God King in Prussia, etc., etc., etc., do hereby proclaim and avow ourselves Duke of Magdeburg, etc.: Whereas to us, on our accession to the Government of our country, our well beloved and faithful Johann Dietz, Court Barber and now Master of the Barbers' Guild of Halle, having most humbly besought of us our gracious *Confirmation* of the position of Court Barber in Halle, bestowed upon him by our Sovereign Father, now with God, his Majesty King Friederich of blessed and Christian memory, on the 19/29 December *Anno* 1693, and also of the most graciously conferred Patent then granted, We thereupon, in consideration of his sound knowledge and experience in *chirurgie* and of the fact that he has at great expense established a Barber's Shop and has himself exercised his calling there for more than twenty years, have graciously acceded to and granted this his most obedient and humble prayer, etc. We hereby confirm and establish Johann Dietz in the position of Court Barber and the privileges of the Barber's Shop established in Halle in such fashion that he, we being present in Halle, must loyally perform as our Court Barber in waiting such duties as our other Court Barbers are obliged to fulfil, or on resigning office shall loyally and diligently continue to carry on his Barber's Shop and will also remain a member of the Barbers' Guild and enjoy unhindered the same rights and privileges as previous Court and other Barbers, and in other respects will be regarded and *tractiret* as our Court Barber, in virtue of the ruling power of the Magistracy and the Government of the country, and of this our public letter in all matters as heretofore stated. We and our Successors, Kings in Prussia, as Dukes of Magdeburg, purport at all times most graciously to protect, support and maintain him, likewise we hereby most graciously and at the same time most earnestly command our Government in Halle in this matter to act in our stead, and in the plaintiff's interest not to allow the content of this our most gracious Patent to be infringed whether by the Barbers or by other persons. Given in Berlin 12 *Martii Anno* 1714.

"Fr. Wilhelm."

Register of Deaths at the Church of St. Moritz, Halle, 1720.

"On Wednesday the 11th Decembris hora 3, died Magdelena the relict and widow of Master Johann Dietz, councillor and warden of St. Moritz Church of this City, and also foragemaster; on the 8th of this month at one o'clock in the morning, and was buried in the

presence of the whole school and of our three schoolmasters, so that the bells were rung gratis ; a whole peal of bells at the Marienkirche and one peal at St. Ulrich's ; *Aetatis* eighty and a half years and eleven days."

Register of Deaths for the year 1693–1719 is no longer in existence. Forage Master Johann Dietz, the father of Barber Dietz, died, according to Dreyhaupt (Beschriebung des Saalkreises) in 1707.

Halle, 25 September 1722. Dietz begs the Privy Council to confer his Court Barber's business upon Regimental Surgeon Johann Michel Steppen. In his own hand. Original in the Royal Privy State Archives. R. 51, 159K.

> ". . . I beg Your Honours to note that I have now lived in Halle an honourable life as a citizen for twenty-nine years and have grown old here, and that now, on account of having undergone many hardships and much labour, I am no longer very well able to exercise my *Profession*, on account of infirmity, weakness of the limbs, and my feeble sight ; therefore with his Majesty's consent I am desirous of rest . . . and I now wish to transfer the Barber's Shop conferred upon me, and my Patent (since this was acquired by me only at great expense and is included in the goodwill) to another qualified *Subjecto*, namely, the son of a citizen of this place, and a regimental surgeon—Johann Michel Steppin, all being conditioned as when I exercised and enjoyed it, living here as an ordinary taxpaying citizen and a member of the Barbers' Guild of this place . . . moreover, he will continue to live in my house, which, these matters apart, has been a Barber's Shop in the past, so that in my old age I might look for a certain degree of help and support. I do not doubt that you will most graciously give me a hearing, since the father of this regimental surgeon, the elder Steppin, voluntarily vacated his house in Halle for the benefit of his Majesty's salt industry ; For which reason it was promised to him and his children that his Majesty would keep them in mind ; and I therefore remain ever your Majesty's most devoted, etc. . . ."

Berlin, 14 Oct. 1722. Rescript of the Privy Council to the Government at Magdeburg, which was requested to make a provisional report concerning Dietz's request of the 25 September. Draft signed by M. L. von Printzen.

Halle, 4 May 1726. Dietz's petitions to the War Ministry, the Ministry of the Household and the Criminal Court, that the strict and zealous inquiry into his affairs shall be quashed, for which reason he offers to pay a fine of 30 thalers. Original. Royal Privy State Archives, Berlin, R. 52, 159 K.

". . . Upon the urgent solicitation of the relict and poor widow of a man who was formerly a resident and barber in Gera, now deceased,

of the name of Gardthoff, concerning the drafting of an indenture in respect of her son, apprenticed to her stepbrother, one Philippi, I, as co-Guildmaster of the Barbers' Guild, having previously reflected upon the woman's demand for such agreement, and advised its conclusion, of which opinion I, with many other persons, have stedfastly been, as this would promote the welfare of the poor barber's son, whose children, without this, enjoy the *beneficium* that apart from their indentures they (could obtain their release). But some of the other and younger Guildsmen, *ad nocendum et contradisendum*, were against this, out of covetousness. However, in respect of this widow's son I, with the best of intentions, had drawn up in my own hand an indenture printed on parchment under the name of my recently deceased co-Guildmaster Wernerohd, for we very often used to sign documents for one another, since we were performing one and the same *function*, and this indenture, in my handwriting, had been discovered and kept in safety and impressed with the old Seal of the Guild, and there existed likewise a copy of this indenture, on paper, which had been impressed beforehand with the new Seal of the Guild, and this with the best intentions, and the barber's widow might therewith have secured without discredit what she wished for her son, in return for 6 Imperial thalers offered and paid down, such money, and also other money of my own, having been accepted in the name of the Office of Guildmaster, also some moneys formerly received from the apprentices at Stecheysen's factory, until they could be included in the estimates audited by me. Now, I was so far from feeling the least anxiety in respect of any trouble arising from this innocent proceeding that I can with a clear conscience testify that I had no other intention in the matter than to promote the welfare of a man in poor circumstances, and at the same time to extricate myself from the depressing complications of the widow's affairs. Only since I recently resolved to surrender my Barber's Shop, with Your Majesty's most gracious consent, in which intention I most humbly offered 50 Imperial thalers to your recruiting fund, to one who has come hither from Saxony with his fortune, and also to surrender my position as Guildmaster, and to make room for yet another taxpaying citizen, and so the Barbers, and even, to my alarm, my most covetous enemies, the aforesaid Gardthoff and his apprentice have won Master Philippi over to their side, in order that they might again obtain from him the indenture previously received from me, in return for which they promised to give him one prepared with the consent of the whole Guild; after which they proceeded to lay before the magistrate of this place a most disparaging and hostile *Denunciation*, to the effect that I could not deny the *facti*, and assured him that I had committed an error and had signed Wernerohd's name as above described; and threatened to ruin me by a costly and most insulting inquiry. However, in respect of all that had happened I had done nothing whatever dishonest; but had, out of undue haste, done something that was rather to be ascribed to my *simplicitaet*; I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty most justly to cry halt to my enemies, and beg that you will most graciously write to the City Magistrate here

"That they will dismiss and quash the inquiry undertaken against me.

"I am prepared, *pro abolitione*, to pay a fine into your Majesty's Exchequer of 30 Imperial thalers of my poor fortune, I remain forever, your etc. . . ."

Berlin, 8 May 1726. Rescript of the Criminal Court to the Magistrate at Halle, who had reported, in the ordinary course of duty, concerning Dietz's request of the 4 May, at the same time dispatching the minutes of the inquiry, and who is to break off the inquiry, since Dietz offers voluntarily to pay the fine. Draft signed by Christoph von Katsch. loc. cit.

Berlin, 16 June 1726. Report of the Criminal Bench to the Minister Christoph von Katsch concerning the facts of the inquiry, now proceeding in respect of Dietz's affairs, and a tentative proposal as to the eventual amount of the fine to be paid *pro abolitione*. Original. Signed by Johann Philipp von Pulian, Balthasar Conrad zum Broich, Johann Friedrich Weitzel, Johann Kaspar von Berger, Albrecht Friedrich Hynitzsch, Karl Ludwig Krug von Nidda, Karl von Rodenberg, Friedrich Beurhaus, George Ulrich, Christian Ludwig von Bär. loc. cit.

Dietz confesses that he "drew up false indentures some five to six years previously for the apprentice of the Barber Stecheysen, by name Christian Meissel, and also in the previous year for an apprentice by name Johann Carl Garthoff, against the express resolution of the Guild"; and as a matter of fact, in the case of the second indenture, which referred to another apprentice, whose name was thoroughly erased by Dietz, and replaced by Garthoff's name, while Dietz's name was likewise dishonestly appended in the place of that of the deceased Guildmaster, Dietz did not credit to the Guild the money paid in respect of these two indentures.

Since Dietz had confessed a further inquiry was apparently unnecessary. "After this, as far as the case itself is concerned, the *Denunciatus* being unable to deny that he committed a *falsum*, and that he had hitherto suppressed the moneys received for the indentures drawn up, an action which admits of no sufficient excuse, since it is *res pessimi exempli*, he may most emphatically be punished in accordance with the amount of his fortune, declared before the magistrate at Halle to be some thousand thalers, so that such a *falsa* may in future be held back, and the genuine indentures drawn up by the Guild may not be discredited by the Guilds of other cities.

"That henceforth this case, in consideration of 200 thalers, which the *Denunciatus*, Johann Dietz, is to pay into the General Exchequer (for fines), shall be discontinued and *aboliret*; notwithstanding that if the *Denunciatus* at the same time that he received 11 thalers on behalf of the Guild for Christian Meissel's indenture, and the 6 thalers for Joh. Carl Garthoff's forged indenture, but that he gave this back, he shall in future refrain from the position of Guildmaster, and he must likewise pay the costs of the past inquiry.

"In the name of justice. . . ."

Berlin, 24 June 1726. It is decreed in respect of Dietz, who is to declare within eight days whether he intends to pay 200 thalers to

the Fines Exchequer, give back the money received for the forged indentures, and the cost of the inquiry, as in that case he may obtain *abolitionem*. Draft signed by Christoph von Katsch. loc. cit.

Halle, 6 July 1726. Dietz declares to the Military Court, the High Court and the Criminal Court that he is prepared to pay the fine of 200 thalers imposed upon him. Original. loc. cit.

" . . . I now offer to pay the 200 thalers, most humbly beseeching . . . the Magistrates of this place to forward a Rescript to the effect :

> " That I should be granted complete restitution, uninjured by any in my reputation for honesty, and should again be established in my honourable offices ; but more especially should I be gratified by my position as senior Guildmaster until I have made up and corrected my accounts in respect of the Barbers' Guild in the presence of a deputation from the Magistrate's bench, who will request my presence for that purpose.

" It will then appear that the 6 Imperial thalers received from Gardthoff, and also the other moneys received in respect of Meissel's indenture, are lying in a place of safety in the Assembly Room of the Barbers' Guild, but have in part been accounted for before the Guild, for which reason I shall myself surrender the office of Guildmaster. And since the minutes of the inquiry can be of use to no one here, save that my enemies might thereby keep me in a state of continual uneasiness, I am confident that your Majesty will deign to allow such to rest undisturbed in the Archives . . ."

Berlin, 16 July 1726. Rescript from the Military Tribunal, High Court and Criminal Court, to the Magistrates of Halle, to the effect that the inquiry into Dietz's affairs shall be discontinued when he produces the quittance showing that he has paid the 200 thalers into the General Fines Exchequer. Draft signed by Christoph von Katsch, loc. cit.

" . . . at the same time, it must be pointed out that in accordance with his offer, the money received on account of the indentures must be accounted for before the assembled Guild, or . . . he may simply make good the deficiency, and in this case he may continue to hold his post as Guildmaster until he has submitted his accounts to certain deputies appointed by the Magistrate. But when this has been done he must and shall resign his office as Guildmaster ; nor shall this be prejudicial to his otherwise good reputation. . . ."

> " *N.B.*—The documents pertaining to this case shall remain here in the Privy Registratur, and shall not be removed herefrom."

Register of Deaths at the Church of St. Moritz, Halle 1726.

" Eodem die [Tuesday 13 *Augusti*] Mistress Elizabeth, Uxor of Master Johann Dietz, citizen and chirurgus, and also Warden of St. Moritz's, who died on the 11 *dicti*, buried without ceremony ; *aetatis* 76 years ; *dedit* the whole School."

Register of Marriages at the Church of St. Moritz, Halle, 1727.

"*Dominica Rogate*. Master Johann Dietz, Royal Court Barber, and also People's Warden and Churchwarden at St. Moritz's, and Mistress Maria Magdelena, the relict and widow of Master Johann Christian Müller, formerly citizen and ropemaker of this place.

"Testes: Master Christian Burchardt,
Master Gabriel Schmidt.

"Married in this Church 5 Junii 1727 at twelve noon.

"On behalf of the bride evidence was given by the official trustee that she had come to an understanding with the child of her first marriage, *ratione paternorum*."

Register of Deaths at the Church of St. Moritz, Halle 1738:

"On Friday the 7 Martii, Master Johann Dietz, Royal Prussian Court Barber, Citizen and People's Warden and also by appointment Warden of this Church of St. Moritz—died at half past eight on the morning of Tuesday the 4 *dicti*—was publicly committed to earth with the customary ceremonies, the hearse being driven to church, the bell-ringing, the pall, and the crucifix, being provided by this Church free of charge. Aetatis 72 years 2 months and 2 weeks, *dedit* the whole School."

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